

VITA WA WATU

BOOK TEN



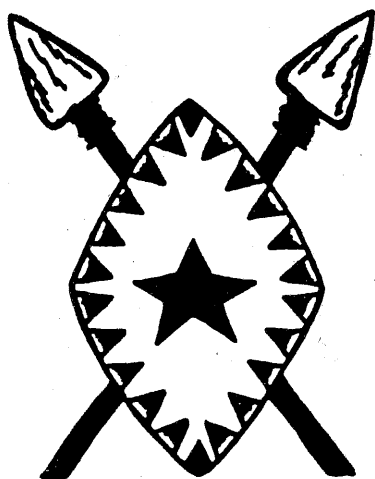
Paul Robeson, b. April 9, 1898

April 1987

\$4.00



Scenes in the life of Paul Robeson



SPEAR AND SHIELD PUBLICATIONS

1340 W. Irving Park, Ste. 108, Chicago, IL. 60613

V I T A W A W A T U

Book Ten

April 1987

CONTENTS

Reflections on the Resurgence of Student Activism Atiba Shanna	1
African Liberation Day 15th Anniversary Forum and Rally Black New York Action Committee	10
Political Education Course Materials Checklist Community Self Defense Program	12
Building Shields of Silence and Conviction Seldom Seen	15
Where Do Correct Ideas Come From? Mao Tse Tung	27
Revolutionary Morality: An Overview Atiba Shanna	29
On Revolutionary Morality Ho Chi Minh	37
Resources	44
Book Review CRISIS IN AFRICA: BATTLEGROUND OF EAST AND WEST Reviewed by Barry S. Little	46
Characteristics of the Namibian Revolution SWAPO-PLAN	49
Pretoria Is In Real Trouble! PAC-APLA	52
The Meaning of the National Democratic Revolution and the Black Struggle in South Africa Ranwedzi Nengwekhulu (BCM-A)	54

REFLECTIONS ON THE RESURGENCE OF STUDENT ACTIVISM

1. Objective

Since 1985, growing attention has been given to the activities of students in support of the Azanian liberation struggle. Moreover, recent media reports have indicated a seeming increase in student activism around a growing list of educational, political, and social issues.

Some of us may now want to spend some time collectively discussing or individually reflecting upon what is clearly a resurgence of politicized student activity. These discussions or reflections can become the foundations for further studies, analyses, and practical programs.

2. Possible Questions

What questions can we start with?

- What is the character of the present wave of student activity?
- What is the composition of what some are (too) eager to call the "new student movement"?
- What caused the growth and development of the present level of student activity?
- How is today's student activism similar to and/or different from student activism of the past?
- What happened to previous student movements? Will this rising movement share their fates? Are its course and methods predetermined?
- Will New Afrikan students become more involved in our struggle for national liberation revolution? If so, what forms will their involvement take?
- What roles will the New Afrikan Independence Movement and its organizations play in inspiring and guiding our students?

3. Questions of Character

By "character" we mean the thing or things which give the present wave of student activity its distinctive quality.

3A. Diversity and One-Sidedness: "Activism" versus "Movement"

Media reports on student activity over the past two years have focused on "anti-apartheid" issues. Recent reports have indicated that students are becoming more active around "anti-racism" issues (e.g., Howard Beach, New York;

Forsyth County, Georgia; University of Massachusetts at Amherst). We also note that over the years students have been involved in: anti-nuclear and disarmament demonstrations; protests against CIA recruitment on campuses; marches in support of women's reproductive rights; rallies against u.s. intervention in Central America. Taken as a whole, it seems that one characteristic feature of the present wave of student activity is its diversity and one-sidedness.

By "one-sidedness," we mean the present wave of student activity appears "anti-" this-or-that, but seldom FOR fundamental issues. Or, this activity takes positions FOR some things, while not taking clear stands AGAINST their necessary opposites.

For instance, we see students who are "anti-apartheid," but who don't take a stand for Azanian national liberation. Students are against u.s. intervention in Central America, but they don't take stands for the necessary revolutionary changes inside the u.s. empire that, without which, u.s. intervention into the affairs of other countries is inevitable.

What we see, at present, is reformist student ACTIVISM, but not yet a revolutionary student MOVEMENT.

"Activism" is a doctrine or practice that emphasizes direct action in support of, or in opposition to, one side of an issue. We understand students to be engaged in activism when they call for u.s. companies to divest themselves of their interests in Azania, without, at the same time, calling for an end to amerikkkan imperialism. And, we know that we can't be anti-imperialist without also being anti-capitalist--and "pro" socialist. So, from our perspective, calls for divestment without calls for socialist transformation, is reformist activism. What we want to build is a student movement.

A "movement" is not merely "anti" this-or-that, but also FOR something. A movement is a two-sided or all-sided organized attempt to promote or attain a specific objective. It seeks to reach this objective by simultaneously working to displace (i.e., "divest") and to create (i.e., Azanian national liberation); it seeks to get rid of something old and unnecessary (i.e., colonial violence, a.k.a. "racist violence") while struggling to realize something new and necessary (i.e., a socialist Republic of New Afrika).

Such a student movement would necessarily have a clear dialectical relation with other movements and forms of activity that were parts of the same process of revolutionary social development. In this sense, a New Afrikan student movement would be but one distinct structural unit of the larger movement for New Afrikan national liberation revolution.

3B. A Tree Without Knowledge of its Roots

In the "Introduction" to the January/February 1987 issue of THE BLACK SCHOLAR, Darwin T. Turner notes that "many college and university students of the 1980s know dangerously little" about the struggle of New Afrikan people, particularly

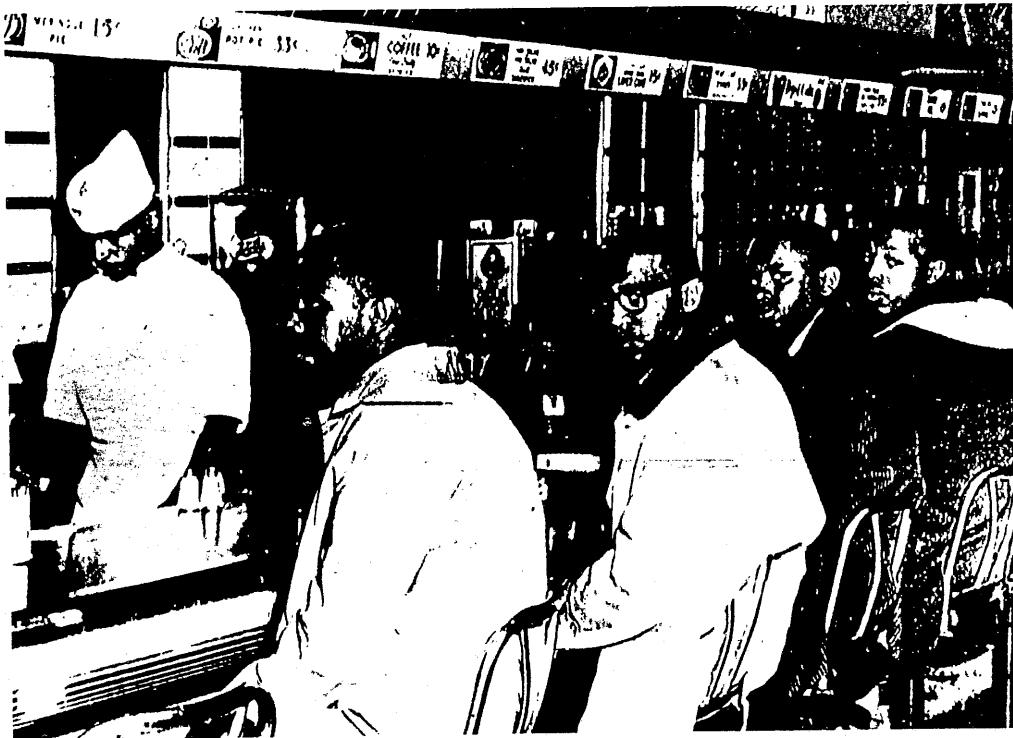
during the years 1954 to 1970. He supports this assertion by saying: "A black-oriented periodical recently reported a survey in which 35 percent of entering students at an Eastern university identified Martin Luther King, Jr., either as an athlete or an entertainer."

Such ignorance speaks not only to the person of Dr. King, but to the student activism that was so closely associated with his life between 1954 and 1968.

If we take the 35 percent referred to above and multiply it several thousand time (including high school and grade school students), we have millions of students--many of whom are participants in the current wave of activism--who, not knowing the story of Dr. King, can't possibly know, fully and adequately, the story of New Afrikan student activism as it unfolded between 1954 and 1987.

Student activism is activism of New Afrikan people who happen to be students. If we don't know the story of their activism, then we don't know a significant part of the nation's story.

The story of the students who sat at a lunch counter in North Carolina and lit a fire under the "sit-in movement," is part of the nation's struggle for independence. The story of the students who met at Shaw University, under the guidance of Sister Ella Baker, to form SNCC, is a significant part of the nation's ideological and theoretical development. The story of student activism is the story of RAM, the story of the BPP and Black Student Unions; it's the story of YOBU and of the ALSC.



New Afrikan students confronted issues during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s that students confront in the 1980s. But today's students think, in large part, that they are "reinventing the wheel," and are therefore unable to take advantage of the lessons offered by previous successes and failures. All of this is to say that historical discontinuity is another characteristic feature of the present wave of student activism. And, it means that unless students begin to learn from the past, they/we face the danger of taking roads that lead to dead-ends, diversions, co-optation, and prolongation of national independence.



**EZELL BLAIR JR., JOSEPH McNEIL,
DAVID RICHMOND, FRANKLIN MCCAIN**

When North Carolina A&T College students Ezell Blair Jr., Joseph McNeil, David Richmond and Franklin McCain sat down at a Greensboro, N.C., five-and-dime lunch counter in February, 1960, they launched the Sit-in Movement and student protests of the '60s, and became perhaps the most impressive example in Black history of the power of anonymous individuals to change society. By October, 1960, lunch counters in more than 100 cities had been integrated,

and by September, 1961, 70,000 people had participated in the movement, 3600 had been arrested, and at least 141 students and 58 faculty members had been expelled from college campuses. The four students started it all by requesting service at the lunch counter at F.W. Woolworth, where Blacks could shop but not eat. They were refused service, and kept their seats until the store closed. They returned the next morning with additional protesters. The youth movement soon spread to other parts of the South. It became organized when the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was founded in April, 1960.

EBONY • November, 1985

3C. Spontaneous Growth and Development

Spontaneity is another characteristic feature of the resurgence in student activism. A failure to study, analyze, and comprehend the story of previous waves of student activism is a failure to grasp the laws of its development,

and thus be unable to consciously plan activity in accordance with these laws, and with the needs of national struggle. It's also a failure to study, analyze, and comprehend the laws of development of society/the nation as a whole (i.e., laws governing the development of the nation and those governing the development of the contradiction between the nation and the u.s. empire).

The fact that particular demonstrations are "planned," or that conferences and networks are "organized," doesn't eliminate the need for social analysis, for political and economic knowledge utilized with a scientific revolutionary spirit. Without the kind of consciousness that overrides spontaneity, we can, as Malcolm used to say, end up going West while thinking we're going East.

3D. Conscious Orientation

Conscious orientation not only for student activism, but for any form of activity in the nation's interests, has to be based on an understanding of the fundamental contradiction between ourselves and the u.s. imperialist state.

To be properly orientated, we have to know that we are an oppressed nation, being denied independence by amerikkka--we have to know that the issue at Howard Beach, for instance, ain't just "racism," but a manifestation of colonial violence. To be orientated is to know who we are; where we are; how we got here; why we got here; where we need to go; how to get there. We have to know all this so that we can correctly interpret and understand local struggles and issues, and so we can make the proper connections between all struggles and issues in our thinking and practice. All local struggles are parts of the national liberation struggle; all local issues are issues related to the need for independence and socialism. (For example, "black studies" ain't about studying amerikkkan history in black face; it's about developing a New Afrikan, national educational philosophy and curriculum. We will continue to get frustrated in our attempts to create "black studies" so long as we don't control our own schools, in our own independent nation.) Conscious orientation: nationalist and revolutionary; internationalist, and scientifically socialist.

3E. Conscious Organization (Strategic)

Spontaneity also implies the absence of strategic organizational links between student activity and all other forms of national activity. Student activity is activity performed by "the masses" of New Afrikan people, and all mass activity has to be coordinated, structurally linked to the New Afrikan Independence Movement, its organizations and parties.

3F. Student Organization

All student activism must be linked to all other forms of activism carried on in the interests of New Afrikan national liberation revolution. All forms of student organization(s) must be linked to each other. Students on college and university campuses must link-up, but they must also link themselves to students in high schools and grade schools, as well as maintain their ties to

the communities from which they come, and the communities in which their schools are located. The goal is to have a New Afrikan Student or Youth Union wherever there are New Afrikan students!

We can't continue to let our children be forced to pledge their allegiance to amerikkka in their classrooms each morning, and then wonder why there is not more support for the movement or more consciousness among the masses. The new Afrikan Independence Movement must make its presence felt in the classrooms of all public schools, and wherever there are New Afrikan people!

And, we must ask, what happens to student activists when they are no longer students? Will they remain politically active? What forms will their contributions take, when they get their diplomas and go to work for IBM or AT&T, or when they begin to teach in the schools? How do we position ourselves so that students can be encouraged to pursue fields of study that will fulfill the needs of the nation once it's liberated? That is, during and after the struggle, we will need science and technology, educated and skilled laborers of all kinds, to build up the nation, as well as the guns to defend it. If the activism of students isn't based on New Afrikan ideology and theory, line and practice, and if they haven't been organizationally linked to the movement, what should we expect?



Bobby Seale (l.), Chairman of the Black Panther Party, and Stokely Carmichael, Prime Minister, in 1968. Hoover called the Panthers "the greatest threat to the nation's internal security."

(The BPP is generally credited with establishing the first Black Student Union.)



Hubert Geroid Brown, better known as H. Rap Brown, who earned the nickname "Rap" because of his extraordinary speaking ability as an activist, adopted yet another name a few years ago when he became a Muslim. Jamil Al-Amin now operates The Community Store in Atlanta. As leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, he emerged as a dynamic spokesman for young Blacks and college students.

4. Composition

If we look at the resurgence of student activism, or at the rise of a new student movement and raise questions about its "composition," what kinds of questions are we raising? By "composition," we mean quantitative and qualitative makeup, and the emphasis is placed on the latter.

By qualitative makeup, we mean class position and consciousness; by quantitative makeup, we mean the numbers of students/people representing each class and level of consciousness, i.e., the new student movement is composed of people from the petty-bourgeois and working classes (qualitative), with the majority being petty-bourgeois (quantitative).

Compositional analysis is important relative to student activism for several reasons. It can help us to determine and explain the character of the activism

18—GUARDIAN—DECEMBER 24, 1986

Guardian Viewpoint

Ella Baker

Ella Baker was a strong Black woman. Owen Brooks, who worked with her in Mississippi, called her "the mother of the civil rights movement." Ella died on her 83rd birthday Dec. 13 in New York City.

Early in 1958, Ella Baker warned Martin Luther King that "we are losing the initiative in the civil rights struggle in the South mainly because of the absence of a dynamic philosophy, or spiritual force."

Later she pointed out, "I set up the office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference . . . , but you didn't see me on television, you didn't see news stories about me. The kind of role I tried to play was to pick up pieces or put together pieces out of which I hoped organization might come."

Organization was always a principal demand in Ella's life. Born in Norfolk, Va., in 1903, she grew up in Littleton, N.C. She graduated from Shaw University in Raleigh. Later, after moving to New York, Ella worked as an editorial staff member of American West Indian News. In 1938 Ella began a long relationship with the NAACP. As national director of NAACP branches she emphasized job training programs for Black workers.

In 1958 Ella Baker became the associate director of the SCLC. Actually she should have been the executive director, but recognizing the sexist tendencies of Black ministers, Ella was content to press for organizational development. It was in 1960 that Baker began to move into

her own space: not only did she push for the founding of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), but she was also the keynote speaker for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, at its 1964 convention in Jackson, Miss.

Later Ella joined Anne Braden as a member of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and became a vice-chairperson of the Mass Party Organizing Committee, with Arthur Kinoy, Dave Dellinger and others. She was also a board member of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee.

There was always in Ella Baker's life that propensity for organization for social change. And she knew that as a woman she had to be firm. Sexism was sometimes a problem. Andrew Young, from his middle-class perspective, said that "Martin's problems with Ella Baker . . . were directly related to his need to be free of that strong matriarchal influence." The truth is, however, that most grassroots activists and organizers really have no problem with "matriarchy" in the Black community.

Ella moved the Black students who later became SNCC. "They were much more erudite and articulate," she said, "farther advanced in the theoretical concepts of social change." Ella's support of the SNCC students' independence brought her into conflict with SCLC, at the very first SCLC meeting for students in 1960.

"The SCLC felt that they could influence how things went. They were interested in having SNCC become an arm of SCLC. They were most confident that this would be their baby, because I was their functionary and I had called the meeting. . . . Well, I disagreed. . . . I was outraged. I walked out."

Jim Forman, Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael), Rap Brown and others will tell you that Fundi—as Ella was known—was the one who moved them toward the understanding of the need to struggle for social change beyond reformation.

"To me," Ella said, "I'm part of the human family. What the human family will accomplish, I can't control. But it isn't impossible that what those who came along with me went through, might stimulate others to continue to fight for a society that does not have those kinds of problems. Somewhere down in the line the numbers increase, the tribe increases. So how do you keep on? I can't help it. I don't claim to have any corner on an answer, but I believe that the struggle is eternal. Somebody else carries on."

That is precisely the legacy of Ella Baker, fighting for social change.

The film "Fundis: The Story of Ella Baker," produced and directed by Joann Grant, is available from New Day Films, P.O. Box 315, Franklin Lakes, N.J. 07417.



GUARDIAN PHOTO BY AKINSHILLIC OIA

A strong Black woman.

or movement. It can help us to determine the motivations and interests of those involved, and to learn something of the potential direction and life-span of the trend. It can also help us to determine and plan our own involvement with students, student organizations, and the student movement, and thus help assure the proper development of the national liberation movement.

Students attending Harvard are likely to have a composition that differs from the composition of students attending CUNY or Fisk. We can't draw a single blueprint to guide activity at each of these schools and expect the same results. Nor can we expect a student movement primarily composed of people from a working class background to strive for and attain the same goals as a movement primarily composed of people from a petty-bourgeois background.

Among other things, students (and cadres) must be introduced to such concepts as "class suicide" and "working class stand and viewpoint."

5. We could end these reflections here, because their purpose has been satisfied, and answers to the above five remaining questions have been sufficiently implied.

What was the purpose of these reflections? A student movement--a key part of the general mass movement--IS on the rise, and the NAIM doesn't want to tail behind it. We wanna win the war, and our success depends greatly upon how well and how quickly we respond to the present wave of New Afrikan student activism. We hope that these reflections will make a worthy contribution in that process.

ReBuild!

Education is the medium by which a people are prepared for the creation of their own particular civilization, and the advancement and glory of their own race.

Marcus Garvey

COMMITTEE TO COMMEMORATE THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY OF AFRIKAN
LIBERATION DAY 1972

Dear Brothers & Sisters:

On May 26, 1972, an unprecedented mobilization of African American concern converged on Washington, D.C. from the four corners of this country. Fifty thousand Black people, most of them from the grassroots, marched out of the Howard University area through Embassy Row, and past the State Department Building. The March spilled out upon the Mall and settled in front of the Washington Monument, as one speaker after another testified to the unbreakable links between the struggle of Africans and African Americans for liberation in the motherland and in the Western Hemisphere. Simultaneous demonstrations of several thousand people also occurred in San Francisco, Toronto, and the Caribbean. On the basis of this massive outpouring, the militant, grassroots-based national united front for African Liberation support work, the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) was launched.

The ALSC as a national organization did not survive the decade of the 1970s. Nevertheless, before its demise, it achieved breakthroughs in ideology, organization and praxis which have yet to be fully exploited by the African Liberation support effort that came later. We believe a new African liberation support movement must emerge in the African American community based on: militant grassroots action in the streets; an unqualified support of the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia "by any means necessary," including armed struggle; recognition of the organic links between the African liberation struggle and the African American liberation struggle against racial oppression and economic exploitation at home. In other words, we need a truly anti-imperialist, grassroots based National Black United Front in our African liberation support work.

Towards the re-creation of such a movement, we are calling upon African people throughout the united states to assemble on May 23, 1987, in Harlem, usa, for an all-day Forum and demonstration in commemoration of the 15th anniversary of ALD '72. The theme of the Forum will be "Which Way Forward in African Liberation Support Work?" The Forum will consist of two back-to-back plenary sessions. First, a summation of ALSC by nationally recognized activists and scholars; second, a summation and consensus-building effort based on presentations from the major trends in the Black Liberation Movement. Provision will be made for maximum questions and answers and audience participation from the floor.

A massive march and rally in Harlem will round out the day's activities as we link "arms across Harlem for African Liberation."

We are asking that you join us in endorsing the 15th Anniversary Commemoration of ALD '72 and contribute in this and any other way you can to making our efforts a success on May 23. A voluntary contribution of \$10 for organizations and \$5 for individuals is requested with your endorsement.

For further information, please call 212-864-6825.

Yours in Struggle,

Bill Sales, BNYAC*; Ahmed Obafemi, NAPO*; Elombe Brath, Patrice Lumumba Coalition*; Abdul Alkalimat, Chicago; Ronnie LaLanne, NOAR; Sam Anderson, NYC; Patrice Wagner, NYC; Jacqueline Wright, NYC; John Guerron, NYC;

(Organizations listed for identification purposes only.)

Please return the form below to:

Black New York Action Committee
1878 Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. Blvd. #5
New York, New York 10026

I (We) endorse the Forum and Demonstration in commemoration of ALD '72 and enclose our voluntary contribution.

Name or Organization Name

Street Address

City

State

Area Code--Telephone Number

COMMUNITY SELF-DEFENSE PROGRAM

P.O. BOX 470646
BROOKLYN N.Y. 11238

STUDY COMMITTEE FOR POLITICAL ORIENTATION

POLITICAL EDUCATION COURSE MATERIALS CHECKLIST

JUNE 23, 1986

I. COMMUNITY ORGANIZERS WORKSHOP MATERIALS:

1. Goals and Objectives Sheet For The Organizer
2. PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENT: "GET ORGANIZED"
3. "Study Guide: Theory and Model of Community Organization"
4. "What is a Community Needs Assessment"
5. "Community Profile of Fort-Greene/Clinton Hill"
6. Fact Sheet on "The Art of Persuasion"
7. General Flyer: "Eviction Scene"
8. "HOW TO BE A GOOD POLITICAL ORGANIZER"
9. Goals and Objectives of May 15, 1986 Community Block Organizing
10. Community Organization Diagram of PLANNING, ORGANIZING, ADMINISTRATIVE
11. JAMES WELDON JOHNSON HEAD START Demographic & Socio-Economic Overview
12. BLOCK HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTIC DATA ENTRY FORM FOR THE ORGANIZER
13. COMMUNITY RESOURCE BOOK DATA ENTRY FORM FOR THE ORGANIZER
14. General Flyer: "Demonstration Scene"
15. TABLE: "Land Use Analysis: Statistical Report-Base Area"
16. Percentage of Residents Receiving Public Assistance by Census Tract: Fort-Greene October 1983.
17. Percentage of Adults with College Degrees by Census Tract: Fort Greene
18. Medium Family Income: Base Area Fort Greene
19. STATISTICAL TABLE: Demographic & Socioeconomic Characteristics of Base Area: Fort Greene
20. Live Births and Deaths From Selected Causes: Base Area
21. STATISTICAL TABLE: Vital Health Statistics by Residence-All Races
22. MAP I: Fort-Greene & Surrounding Neighborhoods

II. PEOPLE'S LEADERSHIP TRAINING WORKSHOP:

23. "People's Leadership Political Dictionary-Spring-Summer 1985"
24. "Crisis of Black Middle Class Leadership" Document
25. "PEOPLE'S LEADERSHIP & THE BLACK THEORETICIAN" Document

26. "Charismatic Leadership Study" Study Document
27. "TACTICS & STRATEGIES FOR BLACK LIBERATION IN THE U.S." APSP PAMPHLET
28. "How To Organize & Write A Work Plan" Study Document
29. "Guardian Angel Study"
30. "Crime in the Black Community: The Real Criminals"
31. "How to Run A Meeting" Study Document
32. "How to Plan & Write a Proposal" Study Document
33. "Study Notes on CLASS ANALYSIS & ROLE OF REVOLUTIONARY THEORY WITHIN THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT-AUGUST 27, 1985"

III. SELF-DEFENSE STUDY MATERIALS:

34. "Knife Self-Defense For Security & Combat"
35. "Why Women's Self-Defense: A FACT SHEET"
36. "Study Documents on the PARRR SYSTEM OF SELF-DEFENSE"
37. "Study Packet of Materials on Womens's Self-Defense"
38. "Self-Defense for the Elderly: Course Outline, December 17, 1985"
39. "History of Martial Arts"
40. "New Police Technologies: An Up-Date"
41. "Data Base of Martial Artists and Security Scientist"
42. "Capoeira: African-Brazilian Martial Arts"

IV. SPEECHES:

43. "Combating Child Abuse: Home, School, Community" Presentation made at LOCAL 1199 PROFESSIONAL CONFERENCE ON CHILD ABUSE MAY 4, 1985
44. "AFRICAN YOUTH AS CHANGE AGENTS" Presentation made on June 16, 1986 in solidarity with the SOWETO REBELLION IN AZANIA JUNE 16, 1976
45. Political Statement made at FAIRMOUNT PARK IN PHILADELPHIA, PENN. ON AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY, MAY 24, 25, 1986: REINFORCEMENT ARE ON THE WAY
46. "WE HOLD THE KEYS TO POWER: A WORKING CLASS PERSPECTIVE OF BLACK HISTORY-2/27/86"
47. "HOTTER THAN JULY: BLACK PEOPLE DETERMINED TO BE FREE" POLITICAL REPORT TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY-JULY 1, 1985
48. SPEECH IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE OHIO SEVEN AND THE HISTORICAL ROLE OF THE ATTICA REBELLION AND MASSACRE OF SEPTEMBER 9, 1971 TO SEPTEMBER 13, 1971-GIVEN IN BOSTON, MASS. SEPTEMBER 29, 1985
49. POLITICAL STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF THE NEW YORK EIGHT VICTORY & UNITY RALLY AT ST. JAMES PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, AUGUST 17, 1985
50. "WOMENS WORK: OUR STORY OF STRUGGLE" PRESENTATION AT CSDP'S CELEBRATION OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY, EAST HARLEM, MARCH 30, 1985

V. ARTICLES, DOCUMENTS AND OTHER PROPOSALS:

51. "Data-Base of Cultural Workers" 4/15/86
52. "Study Notes on DATA BASE MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS AND ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT(MAY 27, 1986)"
53. "COMMUNITY SELF-DEFENSE PROGRAM-THE ORIGINAL PROPOSAL, JULY 1984"
54. "WE WHO BELIEVE IN FREEDOM CANNOT REST" SPEECH GIVEN AT COMMUNITY SELF-DEFENSE PROGRAM'S FIRST ANNIVERSARY PROGRAM, AUGUST 3, 1985

55. "LOOKING BACK IN ANGER: FORWARD IN STRENGTH-ENDING COLONIAL POLICE VIOLENCE IN THE AFRICAN COMMUNITY" MAY 1, 1986
56. "BUILDING THE AFRICAN PEOPLES'S MILITIA: DANGEROUS TIMES AHEAD FOR OUR PEOPLE, TAKING POWER OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE CAPITALIST-COLONIALIST STATE" (DOCUMENT WINTER 1982)
57. "DATA BASE OF PRINT & ELECTRONIC MEDIA NEW YORK METROPOLITAN AREA"
58. "THE BLACK INVENTORS PICTORIAL"
59. "FROM FRAGMENTATION TO UNITY: ARMING THE PEOPLE IDEOLOGICALLY AND MILITARILY AGAINST THE STATE" November 1981: SUMATION OF THE PERIOD AFTER THE OCTOBER 1981 BRINKS EXPROPRIATION
60. "BUILDING A MASS MOVEMENT: RECRUITMENT DIVISION PROGRAM PLAN, WINTER 1981"
61. "UN-CAMOUFLAGE YOUR MIND: LOOK FOR COVER WITHIN THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT, JULY 1981"
62. "GOVERNMENT AS A BURGULARS TOOL: NO CONFIDENCE IN THE U.S. POLITICAL SYSTEM, FORWARD TO BLACK STATE POWER" UP-COMING POLITICAL ARTICLE ON DETAILS OF NEW YORK CITY CORRUPTION SCANDALS DUE SEPTEMBER 1986.
63. "BUILDING CONFIDENCE AMONG THE MASSES: THEORY, ORGANIZATION & PRACTICE: POLITICAL REPORT TO THE AFRICAN COMMUNITY, AUGUST 1986, FIRST THREE CHAPTERS" STUDY COMMITTEE FOR POLITICAL ORIENTATION
64. "USING INFORMATION FOR AN COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE: DEFINING AND BUILDING A ACTIVIST INFORMATION SYSTEM" PUBLISHED BY INFORMATION FOR BLACK LIBERATION, DUE SEPTEMBER 1986.

IF YOU WANT ANY OF THE MATERIAL LISTED ABOVE PLEASE FILL OUT THE FORM BELOW AND SEND TO THE COMMUNITY SELF-DEFENSE PROGRAM, P.O. BOX 470646
BROOKLYN NY 11238

OR CALL US AT THE FOLLOWING NUMBERS: 718-638-7802, 783-4351, 783-2670

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

PHONE_H) _____ W) _____

ORGANIZATION _____

I WANT THE FOLLOWING MATERIALS:

1 _____ 2 _____

3 _____ 4 _____

5 _____ 6 _____

BUILDING SHIELDS OF SILENCE AND CONVICTION

(A Re-View)

(This is the first in a series of notes taken after our own review of the 1985 Spear and Shield publication, STUDY NOTES ON SECURE COMMUNICATION (SNSC). We believe there is a need to address the subject periodically, with as many variations on the theme as possible. This variation sheds light on the relation between work among the masses (as well as training of cadre), with regard to the general theme.)

I

1. A Few Words on the Method

In our review we used what we call the "isolate" or the "breakdown" method of study. We first cover a piece from beginning to end. Then we begin again, only now we "isolate" or "breakdown" key words or phrases, sentences, paragraphs, pages, sections and chapters. Upon reaching the last of all parts, we deal with the piece again, as a whole.

From our own experiences we know that reviews are not only worth the effort put into them, but necessary aspects of effective practice. For instance, we may re-read books, and in many cases we feel as though we're reading them for the first time. This is because we often come across significant passages during the second reading that didn't seem to be there during the first one. Sometimes we come across familiar passages, but we now find something in them which didn't seem to be there before, or they inspire things in us which they didn't inspire during the first reading.

2. Our re-view of SNSC was divided into four parts, beginning with the "Introduction." We focused on George Jackson's passage from SOLEDAD BROTHER:

...it should never be easy for them to destroy us. If you start with Malcolm X and count ALL of the brothers [and sisters] who have died or been captured since, you will find that not even one of them was really PREPARED for a fight. No imagination of fighting style was evident in any one of the indicents. But each one that died professed to know the nature of our enemies. It should never be easy for them. Edward V. Hanrahan, [Cook County State's Attorney], sent fifteen pigs to raid the Panther headquarters and murder [Fred] Hampton and [Mark] Clark. Do you have any idea what would have happened to those fifteen pigs if they had run into

as many Viet Cong as there were Panthers in that building? The VC are all little people with less general education than we have. The argument that they have been doing it longer has no validity at all, because they were doing it just as well when they started as they are now. It's very contradictory for a [person] to teach about the murder in corporate capitalism, to isolate and expose the murderers behind it, to instruct that these madmen are completely without stops, are licentious--totally depraved--and then not make adequate preparations to defend [oneself] from the madman's attack. Either they don't really believe their own spiel or they harbor some sort of subconscious death wish. (pps. 217-218)

We read this and then asked ourselves: What was George saying here (within the original context)? How does it relate to our need to develop and apply principles and methods of secure communication?

The responses we each gave to these questions changed significantly after taking the passage through the breakdown. Initially, our responses were based on narrow perspectives. When we thought about "our" need to develop and apply principles and methods of secure communication, we thought only of our limited circles of cadres, supporters, and allies--we didn't think about the masses of our people. The process of re-view forced us outside these narrow boundaries of thought and practice.

We began with the first sentence: "It should never be easy for them to destroy us." Breaking it down, we asked: 1) who is "them"?; 2) who is "us"?; 3) what is "easy"?; 4) what is "destroy"?

Who is "them" (to you)? "Them" is the local police or the CIA; the landlord or the postal inspector; the kamp official or the "beat representatives"; city hall or the state capital. Would we be wrong in saying that there are as many ways to define or identify "them" as there are oppressive and exploitative situations faced DAILY by ALL our people?

Who is "us"? Of course, "us" can be restricted to those belonging to particular groups, those doing particular kinds of work, or those embracing a particular line or ideology. But isn't Eleanor Bumpurs, the grandmother who was shot to death by New York police, one of "us"? Isn't Michael Griffith, killed by a mob in Howard Beach, one of "us"?

Just as there are many ways to define "them" and "us," there are many ways to define "destroy." Of course we usually think of "destroy" as meaning to kill; but it's also to dismantle or to cause the downfall of, like in organizations and mass movements. To destroy is to disrupt. Drugs are destructive. Miseducation is destructive. Misdirected rage is destructive....

What is "easy"? This, too, can be defined in many relevant ways. Here, let's just say that "easy" is what we make it for "them" the more we fail to reach "us" with "the varied ways of explaining the process [of people's war] to the masses, so that they understand THEIR role in it, and do not see the [organized people's army] as a 'messiah' that will save them without the expense of effort on their part." (POW JOURNAL, Bk. 4, p.2)

3. The process of breaking down this sentence helped us to realize that while building lines of secure communication are primary tasks of an internal nature for cadres and organizations, they are also tasks confronting the entire movement and the nation as a whole. The masses of New Afrikan people share the responsibility for these tasks, and cadres and organizations must insure their active and conscious participation. Shields of technology and technique alone will not be sufficient defensive and offensive weapons in people's war.

II

4. With this newly acquired concern for mass involvement in developing and applying principles and methods of secure communication, we focused our attention on the following phrase:

...they were doing it just as well when they started as they are now.

As with the first sentence, we started by discussing these words on the basis of the context in which they are used, i.e., the ability of the Vietnamese to be prepared; to possess and exercise imagination and fighting style; to defend themselves against the type of predawn raid carried out against the BPP in December, 1969. It was at first difficult for some of us to see how the question of secure communication was involved in what seemed a "purely military" scenario--until we remembered that there is no such thing as a "purely" military scenario, especially not in protracted, people's war:

...The solution to black people's problems lie in people's war for national liberation. But a people's war is a process of development, stage by stage, until a whole people take part in it...At each stage of the struggle, there are indeed many things that people can do that are not necessarily guerrilla activities in themselves. But it must be firmly kept in mind that the ultimate purpose of all these activities is to contribute to the general mass movement toward people's war. As the old African proverb says: "Small creeks make a river." The many non-guerrilla activities of the people act as small creeks; the resulting river is people's war.

Comrad-Brother Sundiata Acoli, "Some Solutions or Things To Do," in SUNVIEWS.

5. The Preparatory Period

We began our discussion with this question: How do we know that they were doing it just as well when they started as they were in, say, 1970? In order to acquire knowledge and make comparisons between "then" and "now," we had to refer to source material--always extremely hard to come by for prisoners. Further, some sources are better than others for the kind of information we sought. Giap and Truong Chinh are cool for general descriptions and theory, but not for providing examples of daily organizing of front and rear base nameless and faceless cadres and masses.

One of the best sources of the latter kind that we were able to get hold of was David Hunt's ORGANIZING FOR REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM: A STUDY OF A MEKONG DELTA PROVINCE (Radical America, Vol. 8, January/April, 1974). With this, we were able to get some idea of how the "mass line" was carried out in practice in Vietnam, i.e., of how cadres and the masses prepared themselves, realized their creative fighting style, and built and used secure communications as defensive and offensive weapons.

Even the general student of the Vietnamese revolutionary process would know, however, that one thing they were doing well was protecting their leadership, cadres, and the masses with and among whom they worked. That is, had Fred Hampton and Mark Clark been active in Vietnam in December, 1969, the pre-dawn raid would probably not have occurred--simply because IT WOULD HAVE BEEN TOO DIFFICULT FOR THE ENEMY TO FIND THEM.

You couldn't walk into Vietnam and find the address to Ho Chi Minh's headquarters by picking up the Yellow Pages. Giap wasn't operating out of a store front in Siagon only a few blocks down from, say, the amerikkkan embassy. Even if you happened to capture a cadre of the revolutionary forces, your chances of being told the location of key individuals and facilities would be slim, not merely because the cadre would refuse to tell you--but because even he or she would probably not know. And, you couldn't walk up to the Vietnamese on the block, and say "Please direct me to the local party headquarters," and expect anything other than a blank stare, or directions to the nearest dark alley.

SHINING LEGACY

by Nkechi Taifa

Illustrations by MARY E. GREER (MAESQARA REISHE)

THE PERFECT BIRTHDAY, KWANZAA OR BLACK HISTORY GIFT

Designed to structure the learning experience in a motivating way

Complete with over 40 striking illustrations

For purchase order information please write:
HOUSE OF SONGHAY II Publishing Co., Inc.



Post Office Box 6403
Washington, D. C. 20009
(202) 832-8431 (202) 882-4319

All conscious and patriotic Vietnamese were aware of at least the basic principles and methods of secure communication, and their practice of these principles and methods was based in large part on the educational and organizational efforts of revolutionary forces, and in part on their intrinsic national and revolutionary consciousness, their historic experience in combatting oppression--all of which clearly lend themselves to knowing the nature of the enemy, distinguishing "them" from "us," knowing how easy their destruction of us can be if we don't know when to keep our mouths shut, and how to prepare ourselves to say what we want, when it's necessary.



6. It's necessary to point out here that the kind of consciousness, principles, and methods under discussion aren't developed and applied only when decisions have been made, or actions taken, which declare a "formal" state of hostilities, or which indicate our having reached a certain stage of struggle: Our war is already hundreds of years old!

Point: Many cadres have lately been reading Frank Kitson's LOW INTENSITY OPERATIONS. In this book the author urges oppressive states to begin their counter-revolutionary operations during the first, or preparatory period of revolutionary activity. (Note well: the "preparatory period" precedes the stage of massive leafleting, protest demonstrations, and marches.)

During the preparatory period, the masses are spontaneously organizing themselves; cadres are going out among the masses to agitate, etc. Counter-revolutionary strategy holds that repressive forces should be deployed among THE MASSES as well as within/around cadre and revolutionary organizations during this phase, so as to catch THE PEOPLE off guard, and to get themselves "in place" before higher stages of struggle are reached, when infiltration would be more difficult, and expected.

Therefore, it is during the preparatory period itself that shields of silence and conviction must be constructed. From the very beginning of mass-revolutionary activity, security consciousness must be instilled and raised, and it must be based on national/patriotic, and revolutionary class consciousness.

III

7. Heightening Contradictions and National Consciousness

Some of us dare to think that all this talk about the need for secure communication is new. These are people who have forgotten who we are, where we are, and how we got here. All we have to do is look to Our Story for examples of the consciousness of the need for secure communication among ourselves, and examples of the practice of corresponding principles and methods. Even "black his-story" books have not been so completely white-washed as to erase all such examples--but most of them need reinterpretation.

In one such book we found: "...the negroes are scrupulous on one point: they make common cause, as servants, in concealing their faults from the owners. Inquiry elicits no information...all are profoundly ignorant; the matter assumes the sacredness of a 'professional secret'."

Now, it doesn't take much reinterpretation to show that what this author is describing was the existence of a certain consciousness and certain principles and methods of secure communication: New Afrikans made common cause, as patriots, as citizens of an oppressed nation, in passing information on a "Need To Know" basis. New Afrikans didn't inform on each other to their oppressors. Any questions put to New Afrikans by "them" went unanswered--or, as Paul Laurence Dunbar might say, they were answered with a "mask."

Part of the Afrikan tradition has always consisted of speaking with reserve. And, if we wanted to relax that reserve, especially around "them," we'd tell Brer Rabbit stories, sing spirituals, or meet in our homes and "turn down the pot" to keep the sound from traveling.

How quickly we forget, or overlook the relevance of the fact that David Walker had to circulate his APPEAL clandestinely into and throughout the National Territory and parts of the u.s. empire--because even then national liberation revolutions were "illegal" in the amerikkkan empire.

8. All this was happening at a time when NATIONAL consciousness was at its height. Prior to 1865, there was little doubt as to the identity of "them" and "us"--the distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations was clear prior to so-called "emancipation."

(So-called "emancipation" was, for us, equivalent to the granting of formal political independence to other colonies by imperialist states. "Black Reconstruction" couldn't help but "fail" because it wasn't designed to accomplish what the New Afrikan pseudo-bourgeoisie (then and now) thought that it would. We should keep this in mind when today we hear these neo-colonial aspirants cry over "losing gains we acquired in the 70s," or that these so-called losses remind them of the 1870s, 80s and 90s. Neo-colonialism is never a gain, only a set-back.)

In fact, the distinction remained clear to the MASSES of New Afrikans long after 1865, because the material conditions underlying the primary contradiction remained unobscured by euphemism and cosmetic change well into the 20th century, when the "civil rights" and "black power" movements ushered in a form of neo-neo-colonialism truly unique to our experience.

(In this connection, some rads have taken up Fanon's THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH again, with particular attention to the chapter on "The Pitfalls of National Consciousness.")

Picking up any number of newspapers, magazines, or reports issued by civil rights and even u.s. government organizations, we can learn that material conditions for the masses of New Afrikans in 1987 are, in most cases, worse than they were in 1967! And yet, the character and intensity of mass awareness as to the nature of the enemy and the contradiction between us and them, is certainly not what it was even fifteen years ago.

The existence of empirical evidence alone is not enough. It can be interpreted a right way and it can be interpreted a left way; it can be interpreted an amerikkkan way, and a New Afrikan way. "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary, first of all, to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere." (Mao) The masses must have a correct understanding of their position before we can move to higher, more secure and effective, stages of struggle.

9. Practical Suggestions

We can't build lines of secure communication throughout the mass movement if the masses aren't patriotic, if they lack consciousness and conviction, if they are unaware of the true nature of the enemy: "Do people attack a thing they consider with awe, with a sense of its legitimacy?" (George Jackson)

Agitation and Propaganda: Consistent attacks upon the image of the empire. Mass-oriented educational and organizational campaigns, in this instance, around the subject of u.s. government, state and local government repression.

We should never tire of telling people, for instance, that Paul Robeson was the subject of u.s. government surveillance and repression from at least 1943 to 1967. This activity (physical surveillance, wire-taps, house buggings, mail interceptions, etc.) was not only carried out by the FBI, but by the CIA, u.s. consulates, u.s. army and navy intelligence divisions--this was (as is always the case) u.s. government/empire activity. (This needs emphasis, because we must stop doing the state's job, i.e., making Hoover the scapegoat for state repression...making the FBI's Cointelpro the scapegoat for u.s. government-wide repression.) And, tho in this case Robeson was the particular subject of this surveillance, all those who talked to him, visited him, wrote to him or received letters from him, were also subjects of this counter-revolutionary activity. Robeson was a particular target because he was one of "us," and because he was part of a movement working in our collective interests.



It must be pointed out: This kind of repressive activity didn't start with Robeson, and it didn't end with the death of Hoover or the close of the Water-gate hearings. The continuity of repression parallels the continuity of the nation's oppression.

10. "The effectiveness of rallies and mass demonstrations has not come to an end. THEIR PURPOSE HAS DIACRITICALLY ALTERED, but the general tactic remains sound. Today, the rally affords us the opportunity to effect intensive organization of the projects and programs that will form the infrastructure...If the mass rallies close, as they have in the past, with a few speeches and a pamphlet, we can expect no more results than in the past: two hours later the people will be amerikkans again...But going among the people at each gathering with clipboards and pens, and painfully ascertaining what each can contribute to clear-cut, carefully defined political projects, is the distinction between organization and...sterile, stilted attempts...." (George Jackson)

No tactic will be 100 percent effective; ALL the people won't flock to the table to sign up just because we ask them to--especially not at this moment in time, when the tide is still relatively low, the awe still unshattered. But even one more person is one more than we have now. And, not even one more person "in the ranks," but just one more that we've talked to, that we've inspired to QUESTION the status quo.

On one hand, all we want, now, is a campaign that will impart information, inspire people to question, plant seeds of national and militant consciousness (that we must be sure to nurture through the continuity/follow-through of our efforts).

11. We wanna speak to community groups of all kinds, with presentations tailored to their particular interests, but clearly connected to the content and objectives of the campaign. If people are active, they have an interest in knowing about and defending themselves/us from u.s. government repression. They must know that being a fraternity or sorority won't shield them from u.s. spy cameras, red squad agents, phone taps, mail interceptions or smear campaigns. Don't wait for these groups to invite you to their meetings or to their homes: invite yourself; form a "prior relationship" with one of the members. Be prepared in advance. Don't let initial rejection or less-than-total embrace frustrate you and prevent you from following through. What will you want them to do besides listen to your presentation? The campaign needs the organization of other speaking engagements--we can do it in your home with some of your friends and family. The campaign needs volunteers who will train to speak at such gatherings. We need movie and slide projectors and cameras and film and money to help present and expand our presentations. We need video cameras and film and duplicating equipment. We need copiers and paper, stamps and envelopes. And, when you go to the people, don't add to the difficulties we already face, by being flaky: you are an image of what we are becoming.

12. We wanna go to the grade schools and the high schools, college and university campuses. Students involved in anti-apartheid protests, for example, need to know about u.s. government repression and the principles and methods of secure communication. Some of them may also wanna know how computer technology and data banks are being used to trace those who fail to register for the draft. Again and always: what do we want them to do beside listen? We need volunteers for the door-to-door aspect of the campaign (and we need volunteers for campaigns other than repression education).

If we start with only two people (one female, one male) who are committed to going door-to-door in their own neighborhood, that's two more than we have now. The door-to-door aspect of the campaign can be a survey project (or any number of other things). A one-page list of questions like: Did you know that the "beat rep" program is potentially harmful to your health? Did you know that the CIA supplies drugs to the community? Did you know that the FBI helped revitalize the KU Klux Klan? Did you know that state and federal grand juries are being used to destroy the liberation movement? And, there can be other types of questions: What are your real needs and interests? Do you feel that these needs and interests are being served by the various individuals and organizations that claim to represent you? Do you recognize any of the following names: PAC; Sundiata Acoli; Malcolm X; AZAPO; Walter Rodney; Ella Baker; PG-RNA; Sekou Odinga; Geronimo Pratt; NAPO; NAACP; Fred Hampton....

Over a period of weeks or months, bloods going door-to-door in this way are gonna meet a considerable number of righteous people that otherwise would have no contact with the New Afrikan Independence Movement. "We need shields to protect us, and spears to penetrate our enemies."

13. We wanna go to the churches and the Masjid's. Sufficient data exist so that presentations here will be clearly relevant and documented. Past and present u.s. and local government surveillance and repressive actions against religious bodies have occurred as part of the repression against the masses of the nation and the revolutionary movement and its united front. Cadres can even use themes from the Bible and the Quran relevant to both repressive and revolutionary intelligence activities, i.e., Joshua sent people into Jericho; in NUMBERS:13, the Lord advises the people to collect information; while in the wilderness, Moses was directed to send a ruler from each tribe "to spy out the land" of Canaan, etc. If we're really who we say we are, we should be able to relate to everyone, and to speak the languages of all the trends and segments inside the nation.

14. There are hundreds of New Afrikan newspapers published daily or weekly. The editors and publishers have national, regional and local organizations that should be encouraged to provide more coverage of issues relevant to the struggle, from the proper perspective. The same can apply to those who write for these newspapers. The same applies to campus newspapers, and to nationally circulated magazines and journals. Cadres and supporters of the movement should be encouraged to consistently send letters to editors and journalists, as well as to submit material to the public forums of newspapers and magazines, not only on issues of repression, but on any topical issue related to the daily sufferings and struggles of the masses.

15. We close out on this note: As mentioned above, the oppressor's strategy involves sabotage and infiltration during the "preparatory period" of the revolutionary process. They hope to catch us off guard, not expecting the obvious. It's said that forewarned is forearmed...but we've learned to take nothing for granted.

We must cast away all remaining illusions. We must realize that we are actually inside "occupied territory," and no activity is "innocent" or above suspicion as far as the opposition is concerned. We must be on guard twenty-four hours a day, no matter where we are, or what we're doing. All "above-ground" activity will be--IS--the first target of repressive forces.

ReBuild!

VITA WA WATU invites its readers and those actively involved in the national liberation struggle and liberation support groups, to submit articles, reviews, and letters. We are interested in articles on theoretical and practical aspects of building mass-based, protracted, people's war. We are also interested in articles on the Caribbean, Central America, and Africa.

Payment will be in the form of ten (10) copies of the issue of VWW in which the accepted material appears.

Send submissions to:

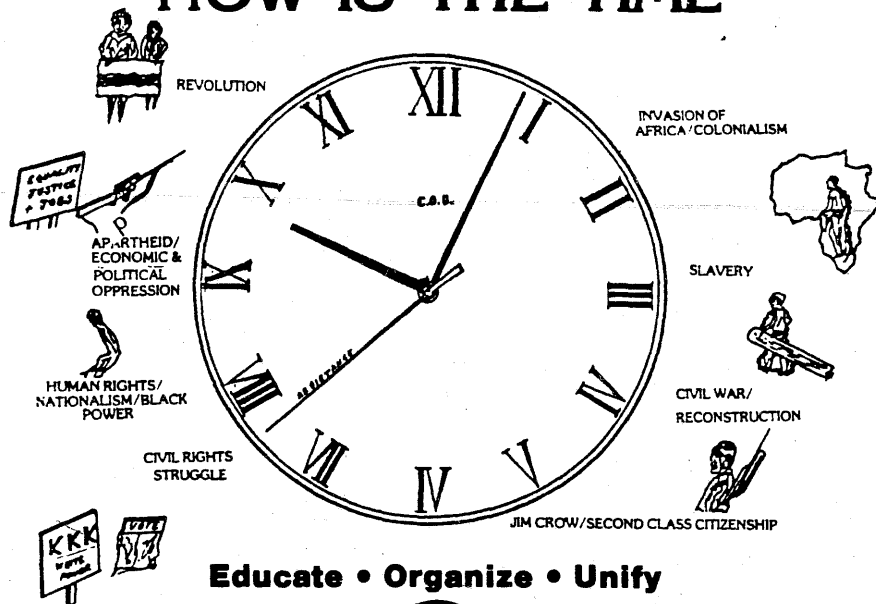
Atiba Shanna
Spear & Shield Publications
1340 W. Irving Park, Ste. 108
Chicago, Il. 60613

BLACK SEEDS

1987 Black History Calendar

10th Anniversary Edition

NOW IS THE TIME



Educate • Organize • Unify

Black Seeds

1987

HISTORICAL and EDUCATIONAL CALENDAR

Not Just A 12 Page Calendar, But 36 Exciting Pages Including:

**BLACK HISTORY FACTS • READING LISTS • AFRICAN STATISTICS • YOUTH PAGE
MAP OF AFRICA • STRIKING GRAPHICS • KWANZAA INFORMATION • AFRICAN PLEDGE**

Articles On

**MARCUS GARVEY • WINNIE MANDELA • DRUGS • SOUTH AFRICA • SALUTE TO BLACK WOMEN
NANNY PROSSER • MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. • MALCOLM X • TEEN PREGANCY • Plus Much More...**

And A Special Double Page Centerfold On

FREEDOM FIGHTERS YOU SHOULD KNOW

BLACK SEEDS
1987

HISTORICAL and EDUCATIONAL CALENDAR

NOW IS THE TIME

An Excellent Fundraiser • A Perfect Gift

Order Your Copy Today

• All Orders Must Be Prepaid •
Send Money Order or Certified Check To:

BLACK SEEDS
1217 - 17TH STREET, NORTHEAST
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20002
(202) 398-4104

NAME • _____

ORGANIZATION • _____

ADDRESS • _____ APT NO. • _____

CITY • _____ STATE • _____ ZIP CODE • _____

DAY PHONE • _____ EVENING PHONE • _____

QUANTITY	COST PER	POSTAGE & HANDLING	
1-10 COPIES	\$4.00	1 - \$1.15	26-50 - \$14.20
11-25 COPIES	\$3.50	2 - \$1.85	51-75 - \$18.40
26-50 COPIES	\$3.00	3-4 - \$2.75	76-100 - \$23.75
51-100 COPIES	\$2.75	5-10 - \$4.25	101-150 - 25¢ EACH
101-200 COPIES	\$2.50	11-25 - \$8.65	151-200 - 20¢ EACH

QUANTITY _____ POSTAGE & HANDLING _____ TOTAL ENCLOSED _____

WHERE DO CORRECT IDEAS COME FROM?

Mao Tse Tung

Where do correct ideas come from? Do they drop from the skies? No. Are they innate in the mind? No. They come from social practice, and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practice: the struggle for production; the class struggle; and scientific experiment.

It is man's social being that determines his thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world. In their social practice, men engage in various kinds of struggle and gain rich experience, both from their successes and from their failures.

Countless phenomena of the objective external world are reflected in a man's brain through his five sense organs--the organs of sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch. At first, knowledge is perceptual. The leap to conceptual knowledge, i.e., to ideas, occurs when sufficient perceptual knowledge is accumulated. This is one process of cognition. It is the first stage in the whole process of cognition, the stage leading from objective matter to subjective consciousness, from existence to ideas. Whether or not one's consciousness or ideas (including theories, policies, plans or measures) do correctly reflect the laws of the objective external world is not yet proved at this stage, in which it is not yet possible to ascertain whether they are correct or not.

Then comes the second stage in the process of cognition, the stage leading from consciousness back to matter, from ideas back to existence, in which the knowledge gained in the first stage is applied in social practice to ascertain whether the theories, policies, plans or measures meet with the anticipated success. Generally speaking, those that succeed are correct and those that fail are incorrect, and this is especially true of man's struggle with nature.

In social struggle, the forces representing the advanced class sometimes suffer defeat not because their ideas are incorrect but because, in the balance of forces engaged in struggle, they are not as powerful for the time being as the forces of reaction; they are therefore temporarily defeated, but they are bound to triumph sooner or later.

Man's knowledge makes another leap through the test of practice. This leap is more important than the previous one. For it is this leap alone that can prove the correctness or incorrectness of the first leap, i.e., of the ideas, theories, policies, plans or measures formulated in the course of reflecting the objective external world. There is no other way of testing truth. Furthermore, the one and only purpose of the proletariat in knowing the world is to change it. Often, a correct idea can be arrived at only after many repetitions of the process leading from matter to consciousness and then back to matter; that is, leading from practice to knowledge, and then back to practice. Such is the Marxist theory of knowledge, the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge.

Among our comrades there are many who do not yet understand this theory of knowledge. When asked the source of their ideas, opinions, policies, methods, plans and conclusions, eloquent speeches and long articles, they consider the question strange and cannot answer it. Nor do they comprehend that matter can be transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter, although such leaps are phenomena of everyday life.

It is therefore necessary to educate our comrades in the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, so that they can orientate their thinking correctly, become good at investigation and study, and at summing up experience, overcome difficulties, commit fewer mistakes, do their work better, and struggle hard so as to build China into a great and powerful socialist country and help the broad masses of the oppressed and exploited throughout the world in fulfillment of our great internationalist duty.

(May, 1963)

REVOLUTIONARY MORALITY: AN OVERVIEW

1. Revolutionary morality is assumed to be a subject familiar to those who have been actively involved in national and anti-imperialist (are North American revolutionaries nothing more than "anti-imperialists"?) struggles on a professional basis. But many of us are only now realizing just how profound a subject it is.

Several years ago, we were forced to take a renewed interest in the subject, as "corruption in the revolutionary movements--the use and tolerance of drugs, and pimping" came to light, and efforts were made to shape "a new revolutionary morality."

We can't create and uphold a REVOLUTIONARY morality if we don't know the source and content of MORALITY. For our part, we began to study and discuss the subject, and took what we felt were adequate steps toward creating clear standards of morality, along with measures to insure that these standards were maintained by all concerned.

However, less than a year ago, we learned that there were still those among us who felt that SELLING drugs to the masses was a legitimate--a moral--means of raising funds. Consequently, we were forced to take a closer look at ourselves. We intensified our discussions; we brought under review the content and methods of our studies, as well as the standards and enforcement provisions of our morality.

The review had hardly begun before we realized how simplistic and superficial our conception of (revolutionary) morality had been. Each of us held definitions so narrow that they hardly went beyond describing conduct related to drugs, the treatment of women, and certain behaviors with regard to the masses and comrades, such as stealing, cheating, informing. Some of us pointed toward the Nguzu Saba and/or the New Afrikan Creed as codes of moral conduct with a relatively wide range of prohibitions and mandates. None of this was sufficient for our needs.

For example, we discovered that REVOLUTIONARY morality begins to take shape on the basis of our STAND as members of a revolutionary CLASS--as well as on our position as cadres of a national revolutionary movement and party formations. Yet, when we began to discuss "Class stand," we were again confronted with our ignorance--an inability to define the concept or to provide examples of how it's manifested in the real world, was a testimony not only to our quality as cadres, but to the limits imposed upon the concept and practice of our morality.

Our shortcomings reflect our needs, i.e., if our ideas are simplistic, we need to tackle them in all their complexity; if our training and practice is superficial and unsystematic, we must engage all abstract and practical activity as thoroughly and methodically as possible; if our perspectives are

narrow and one-sided, we must learn to broaden them and to look upon all things in an all-sided manner.

This approach to study is based on what has to be our overall approach to life, i.e., understanding (revolutionary) morality and its basis depends on our dialectical and materialist understanding of natural and social development. We can't separate the practice of morality from all other spheres of our lives. We can't separate our moral consciousness from all other forms of consciousness. If there are shortcomings in the concept and practice of our morality, they will manifest themselves in our political, economic, and military work, and all other life situations. Therefore, to understand morality, and to be able to generate a **REVOLUTIONARY morality**, we must approach the task on a foundation of dialectical and materialist understanding of all developments in nature and society.

2. Morality in General

As a point of departure, we'll define morality as: a form of social consciousness; a pervasive, complex, social institution. It has three major components (moral activity; moral relations; moral consciousness), and expresses itself in "sub-forms" which correspond to each form of social consciousness. Morality arises on the basis of the nation's material conditions, social relations, and the objective laws which determine their development. In class societies, morality assumes a class character. It regulates the behavior of all members of the nation and class strata, in all spheres of life, by bringing the collective power of the people to bear on the life of each individual and the nation as a whole.

At first glance this definition (or similar definitions) of morality may appear adequate. That is, few of us would say, after reading it, that we don't understand what it says, and consequently, that we don't know what morality is.

2A. We've said that morality is a form of social consciousness, and we assume that we "know" this. How well do we know it? That is, our knowledge of morality is based heavily upon our understanding of CONSCIOUSNESS, of SOCIAL consciousness, and of FORMS OF social consciousness; if our grasp of these concepts is not firm, then so will be our grasp of morality. Moreover, our ability to understand morality as an "institution" is also related to our grasp of "consciousness" and its relation to morality.

We could begin and end an in-depth study of "consciousness" by saying that it's the highest form of reflection of objective reality; the sum total of the mental processes (perceptions, ideas, views, concepts, etc.) by which we shape our understanding of the world and our relation to/place in it.

For the limited purposes of these notes, however, it may be enough to know that consciousness is a response to stimuli (Nkrumah), a social product--it arises as a result of our active participation in the processes of social survival and development. Consciousness is not "ready-made," nor is it immutable: it changes as we change, and as the conditions under which we live

change:

The production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of [people], the language of real life. Conceiving, thinking, the mental intercourse of [people] appear at this stage as the direct efflux of their material behavior. The same applies to mental production as expressed in the language of the politics, laws, morality, religion, metaphysics of a people. [People] are the producers of their conceptions, ideas, etc....Consciousness can never be anything else than conscious existence...."

Marx, THE GERMAN IDEOLOGY

A study of "consciousness" inevitably leads to a study of THE RELATION BETWEEN "social being" and "social consciousness."

Since we deal with the world by dealing with its parts, consciousness assumes forms related to these parts, i.e., the views, ideas, concepts, etc., that are related to philosophy, politics, theories, economics, law, art, interpersonal relations, etc. "Social consciousness" is, then, all views, concepts, etc., related to life and activity in society.

The relation between social being and social consciousness is one of the fundamental questions of philosophy. Philosophy is, however, a subject that most aspiring revolutionaries neglect, usually because it appears "too abstract" and not immediately connected to "getting down," or to other forms of practical activity.

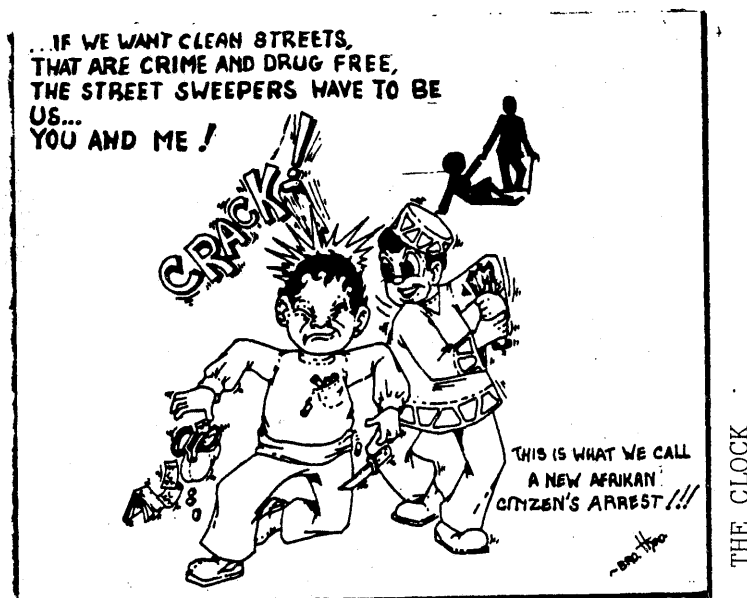
However, our neglect of philosophy--specifically, our neglect of dialectical materialist philosophy--accounts for many of our shortcomings in other practical areas of struggle. That is, the study of philosophy is a very practical revolutionary activity. No matter what forms of practical activity we may engage ourselves in, we must concern ourselves with questions of the relation between "being" and "consciousness," i.e., how does our practice lead to new forms of practice? how does our expropriation lead to new levels of consciousness among the masses? etc. Therefore, the relation between being and consciousness is not merely (!) a fundamental question of philosophy, but a fundamental, practical, political question for all peoples engaged in struggle for new social relations, e.g., national liberation revolutions.

It's at this point that we can begin to make the connections between consciousness (social) and its FORMS, not only with regard to the practical political tasks of revolutionary movements generally and the NAIM in particular. We also begin to make the connection to the source and content of revolutionary morality, and its pervasive character.

We've already said that consciousness assumes particular forms, and that social consciousness is a general form related to all life and activity in society. However, we must still pay attention to each form of social consciousness, recognizing first of all that they arise on the basis of the various aspects of our social being/practical activity. That is, there's a specific form of social consciousness for every social function, each with specific laws of development. The diversity of these forms is a result of the diversity of the objective world and society--yet, each form of consciousness and each social function, are connected, interpenetrating, etc.

As we show below, and as we've already stated, morality is a form of social consciousness: What gives rise to consciousness also gives rise to morality. Consciousness is defined and expressed generally, and yet also assumes particular forms--as does morality. Because it is a form of consciousness, morality also shares its primary medium--language. We mention this medium because it helps us understand morality as a social "institution."

By "institution," we mean something which instructs, educates, socializes, communicates, transmits knowledge, etc. We develop language in the course of our mutual, social interaction. As consciousness is our views, concepts, etc., language is the primary vehicle used to spread these ideas, to form a consensus, to agree upon and evaluate common modes of behavior: Consciousness and morality must be passed from one generation to the next; they must also be afforded means or an instrument by which we can collectively participate in reshaping them as changing conditions and interests demand.



3. Morality, because it is a pervasive, complex, social institution, has three major components: 1) Moral Activity--content and motivation, i.e., acceptable conduct and standards of behavior; 2) Moral Relations--the means by which moral activity is regulated; these relations assume the form of duties, responsibilities, and demands; 3) Moral Consciousness--the reflection of moral relations which take the shape of principles, norms, ideals, and concepts of good and evil, justice and injustice, etc. All forms of moral consciousness are linked into a system which prescribes, motivates, and evaluates morality.

4. Conforming to the various forms of social consciousness and the different spheres of social life, morality expresses itself in specific moral codes, e.g., "professional ethics," "family morality," "party morality," etc.

5. Morality doesn't fall from the sky, nor is it "class neutral." Being influenced by social being, as class formations appear, morality reflects the character and interests of the classes in struggle. That is, there is the morality which sustains and sanctions existing social relations and asserts the interests of the oppressor, and there's the morality that opposes the oppressor and asserts the interests of the oppressed--revolutionary morality.

6. Morality is all-pervasive, and regulates the activity of all members of the society, in all spheres of life. The three components of morality express themselves in all forms of social consciousness and social activity.

7. Morality regulates all behavior through the force of mass example; public opinion; impersonal injunctions issued by no one in particular, but equally addressed to everyone; and through certain customs and traditions--customs and traditions which also don't fall from the sky, but take their shape from the particular historical conditions of our social life prior and subsequent to our loss of national independence.

The forms used by morality to regulate our behavior are clearly distinguished from other forms of regulating behavior, such as laws, rules, decrees of governments. Each of these relies on an authority that is "formal" and--especially in bourgeois societies--separate from and above the people. Morality relies on the authority of the people, who justify their actions by their own philosophical and ideological concepts, and by their interpretation of their needs and interests as derived from their conditions of life. As the people's consciousness develops, and as their social being influences consciousness, their moral concepts change or receive added/renewed vigor. We can see here, too, the importance of CONSCIOUSNESS among the masses, in its role as regulator and motivator. That is, the role of CLASS consciousness looms here, since the masses must know what their interests are, and how to realize these interests in tune with objective laws of development.

8. Revolutionary Morality

This overview of morality, in general, should help us understand the particular source, content, and laws governing the development of REVOLUTIONARY morality. However, it may still be difficult for some to understand why we've laid the stress on "consciousness," and on the need for a dialectical materialist understanding of social development. A brief reference to part of the process which lead to our own enlightenment and rectification may help in this regard, and will lead naturally into an overview of revolutionary morality.

2B. ON REVOLUTIONARY MORALITY, by Ho Chi Minh, was one of the documents we used in our initial study of the subject (we're reprinting that document in this issue of VWW so that this description can be as brief as possible, and so that others can have access to it). As you read that paper, you'll notice that altho the subject is revolutionary morality, that phrase is used for the first time near the end of the first page, and defined for the first time half-way through the second page, and defined more explicitly at the end of the second page.

Our point is made thusly: 1) After our initial study of this paper, if we'd been asked to define revolutionary morality and to explain its source, our answer would have been something like: "Revolutionary morality is loyalty to the Party; its source is criticism and self-criticism." And, 2) if we'd been asked why, in writing a paper on revolutionary morality, Ho Chi Minh began by talking about such things as the struggle against nature and the struggle to produce, we wouldn't have been able to answer correctly. After all, what does the mode of production and the emergence/existence of class societies have to do with revolutionary morality?

Clearly, incorrect and/or immature understanding of dialectical materialist philosophy and revolutionary science won't allow one to see that Ho Chi Minh begins his paper exactly where we should all begin, i.e., we begin talking about revolutionary morality by talking about the relation between being and consciousness, and about the objective laws of social development. We can't talk about revolutionary morality without talking about bourgeois morality, just as we can't talk about national liberation revolution without talking about the struggle against capitalism.

Revolutionary morality involves far more than the mere avoidance of corruption, i.e., millions of people don't use or sell drugs--yet they also don't have a revolutionary morality!

The struggle for the new society demands confronting the old one at points of conjuncture relative to consciousness and social practice. That is, every idea of the old society must be a focal point of struggle; every form of practice that upholds, justifies, or perpetuates the old society must also be a focal point of struggle. Revolutionary morality confronts bourgeois morality as the embryo of the morality--of the social/productive relations--of the new socialist society.

Upon what does the success of our struggle to liberate the nation and build a new, socialist society, depend? Fundamentally, it depends upon objective laws of social development, our understanding of these laws, and our ability to consequently plan our actions on this basis.

REVOLUTIONARY morality, therefore, stands on a foundation of revolutionary consciousness. For us, this means: 1) NATIONAL revolutionary consciousness; and 2) revolutionary CLASS (proletarian) consciousness, with the latter being primary.

In line with the above overview of consciousness, revolutionary national consciousness shapes our philosophy and ideology, all views and concepts, etc., with regard to our national reality, the contradiction between our nation and u.s./world imperialism, and our struggle to regain national independence and to build a socialist society.

As Fanon demonstrated so well in THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH, and as observation of the real world confirms, national consciousness alone has pitfalls that must be recognized and avoided. On the basis of national consciousness, revolutionary class (proletarian) consciousness arises, and becomes a prerequisite for successful national liberation and socialist construction.

The existence of classes inside the nation is an unavoidable reality; that these classes have opposing interests is also a reality. There are pseudo-bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces inside the nation who have more in common with the system of oppression and exploitation than they have in common with the system we must build. But there are also class forces inside the nation whose interests are inseparable from the system we must build, the main one being the working class--a class that must develop the STAND of a nationally oppressed revolutionary proletariat, which is the foundation for a revolutionary morality.

DRUMBEAT

SUBSCRIPTION ORDER FORM

- ☐ START MY SUBSCRIPTION TO DRUMBEAT FOR 1 YEAR AT \$15.00.
- ☐ PLEASE PLACE MY NAME ON DRUMBEAT'S MAILING LIST.
- ☐ I WISH TO WORK WITH DRUMBEAT. PLEASE CONTACT ME.
- ☐ I WISH TO MAKE A ☐ MONTHLY ☐ QUARTERLY ☐ SEMI-ANNUAL ☐ ANNUAL

CONTRIBUTION TO DRUMBEAT IN THE AMOUNT OF \$ _____

DO NOT SEND CASH THRU THE MAIL UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES.
SEND EITHER CHECK OR MONEY ORDER PAYABLE TO:

DRUMBEAT

3348 C STREET, SOUTHEAST • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20019 • (202) 581-1731

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____ APT NO. _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

DAY PHONE _____ EVENING PHONE _____

The "class stand" of the New Afrikan revolutionary proletariat is its consciousness of its objective relationship to the forces of capitalist and imperialist oppression, and a subjective determination to liberate the nation, build socialism, and contribute to similar developments the world over.

This stand is expressed in the principles of revolutionary scientific socialism, and the practical activities of daily struggle which are guided by these principles. From this perspective, we can better understand why Ho Chi Minh placed such heavy emphasis upon the relation between revolutionary morality and the achievement of party objectives. That is: Revolutionary morality is based on class stand, and class stand is class consciousness. Class consciousness, in turn, is based on a particular, correct grasp of the objective laws of social development. These laws are expressed in the principles of revolutionary scientific socialism, and the policies and line of the party reflect and apply these laws and principles in the struggle to liberate the nation and build a new society.

3. All this, to say what? In particular, to say that we musn't look upon revolutionary morality in a narrow way. Moreover, to say that the breadth and depth that must be brought to study and practice of revolutionary morality must also be brought to all other areas of thought and practice.

All this, to remind ourselves that the struggle is for national independence --and SOCIALISM; to remind us that we lay the foundation for the new society as we think and act each minute of each day. All this, to say that revolutionary morality--that New Afrikan national liberation revolution--rests on a foundation of a dialectical and materialist understanding of social development, and knowledge of the principles of revolutionary scientific socialism. And, to remind us that not only must cadres and activists improve our quality in this regard, but that we must assist the masses of the nation along the same paths of development in consciousness and methods.

ReBuild! (i.e., Rectify)

ON REVOLUTIONARY MORALITY

Ho Chi Minh (1958)

Ever since the beginning of...existence [people have] had to struggle against nature--wild beasts, the weather, etc.--in order to survive. To succeed in this struggle, each individual must rely on the force of large numbers of people, on the collective, on SOCIETY. Alone, [we] cannot get the better of nature and subsist.

In order to survive, [people] must also produce, to get food and clothing. Production, too, must rely on the collective, on society. Alone, the individual cannot produce.

Our era being a civilized, revolutionary era, one must rely all the more on the force of the collective, of society, in all undertakings. More than ever, the individual cannot stand apart from, but must join, the collective, join society.

Therefore, INDIVIDUALISM goes counter to COLLECTIVISM; collectivism and socialism will certainly prevail while individualism will surely disappear.

The mode and forces of production ceaselessly develop and change; so do, therefore, [people's] thinking, social systems, etc. All of us know that from the past to the present, the mode of production has evolved from the use of tree branches and stone axes to that of machines, electricity and nuclear energy. Social systems have also developed from primitive communism through slaveownership and feudalism to capitalism, and today nearly half of [the world's peoples are] progressing to socialism and communism.

No one can stop this development and progress.

With the coming into being of private ownership, society has been divided into classes--exploiting classes and exploited ones--hence the emergence of social contradictions and class struggle. Any person necessarily belongs to one class or another and no one can stand outside the classes. At the same time, each individual represents the ideology of [their] own class.

In the old society, the feudal landlords, capitalists and imperialists, mercilessly oppressed and exploited the other social strata, especially the workers and peasants. They plundered the common property produced by society, turned it into their own private property, and lived in clover. But they kept ranting about "virtue," "freedom," and "democracy"....

Refusing to endure this oppression and exploitation for ever, the workers, peasants and other toiling people have risen up and made the revolution in order to liberate themselves and transform the wicked old society into a fine new one, in which all laboring people would live happily, and from which the exploitation of [one person by another] would be banned.

To succeed, the revolution must be led by the working class--the most advanced, conscious, resolute, disciplined and best organized class--with the proletarian party as its staff. This has been incontestably borne out by the revolution in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries.

To make the revolution, to transform the old society into a new one, is a very glorious, but also an extremely heavy task, a complex, protracted and hard struggle. Only a strong [person] can travel a long distance with a heavy load on [their] back. A revolutionary must have a solid foundation of REVOLUTIONARY MORALITY in order to fulfill [their] glorious revolutionary task.

Born and brought up in the old society, we all carry within ourselves, to varying extent, traces of that society in our thinking and habits. The worst and most dangerous vestige of the old society is INDIVIDUALISM. Individualism runs counter to revolutionary morality. The least remaining trace of it will develop at the first opportunity, smother revolutionary virtues, and prevent us from wholeheartedly struggling for the revolutionary cause.

Individualism is something very deceitful and perfidious; it skilfully induces one to backslide. And everybody knows that it is easier to backslide than to progress. That is why it is very dangerous.

To shake off the bad vestiges of the old society and to cultivate revolutionary virtues, we must study hard, and educate and reform ourselves in order to progress continuously. Otherwise we shall retrogress and lag behind, and shall eventually be rejected by the forward-moving society.

It is not only by going to school or attending training courses, that we can study and educate and reform ourselves. In every revolutionary activity, we can and must do it. Underground revolutionary activities, the general insurrection, the war of resistance, the present building of socialism in the North and the struggle for national reunification are very good schools where we can acquire revolutionary virtues.

People with revolutionary virtues fear neither difficulties, hardships, nor failures; they neither waver nor step back. For the sake of the interests of the Party, the revolution, the class, the nation and [the world], they never hesitate to sacrifice their own interests, and if need be, even their own lives. This is a very clear and lofty expression of revolutionary morality.

In our Party, Comrades Tran Phu, Ngo Gia Tu, Le Hong Phong, Nguyen Van Cu, Hoang Van Thu, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai, and many others have laid down their lives for the sake of the people and the Party, thus setting brilliant examples of total dedication to the public interest and complete selflessness.

People with revolutionary virtues remain simple, modest, and ready to face more hardships, even when meeting with favorable conditions and winning successes. "Worry about work before the others, think of enjoyment after them." We must think of how best to fulfill our task, not of how to get the greatest reward. We must avoid boasting about past achievements and claiming special prerogatives, or indulging in bureaucratism, conceit and depravation. This also is an expression of revolutionary morality.

In brief, revolutionary morality consist of the following:

To devote one's life to struggling for the Party and the revolution. This is the most essential point.

To work hard for the Party, observe Party discipline, and implement Party lines and policies.

To put the interests of the Party and the laboring people before and above

one's own interests. To serve the people wholeheartedly. To struggle selflessly for the Party and the people and to be exemplary in every respect.

To endeavor to study Marxism-Leninism and constantly use self-criticism and criticism to heighten one's ideological standard, improve one's work, and progress together with one's comrades.

Each revolutionary must deeply realize that our Party is the most advanced and close knit organization of the working class, the leader of the latter and the laboring people at large. At present, our working class, though still not very numerous, is developing with every passing day. In future, agricultural cooperatives will be organized everywhere, machines will be widely used in the countryside, and peasants will become workers. The intellectuals will become well acquainted with manual labor and the differences between brain and manual workers will be eventually wiped out. Our country's industry will develop day by day. Hence, the workers will be ever more numerous, their strength will grow and the future of the working class is great and glorious. It will reform the world and itself as well.

The revolutionary must clearly realize this and firmly stick to the STAND of the working class so as to struggle wholeheartedly for socialism and communism, for the working class and all the laboring people. REVOLUTIONARY MORALITY CONSISTS IN ABSOLUTE LOYALTY TO THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE.

Our Party pursues no other interests than those of the working class and the toiling people. Therefore, its immediate objective is to struggle for the gradual building of socialism in the North and the reunification of the country.

Under the Party's leadership our people have fought heroically, overthrown the colonial and feudal domination and completely liberated the North of our country. This was a great success. But the revolution is not yet fully victorious and the present aim of the Party is to struggle for national reunification in order to build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam, to eliminate exploitation of [one person by another] all over the country, and build a new society with happiness and abundance for all.

However, our industry is still backward. Thanks to the devoted help of the fraternal countries, first of all the Soviet Union and China, it is developing. For our efforts to succeed, our workers must emulate one another and strive to produce ever more, faster, better and more economically, observe labor discipline and actively participate in the management of their enterprises; we must oppose waste and embezzlement, and our cadres must be truly industrious, thrifty, honest and upright, and join the workers in labor.

Land has been allocated to our peasants, whose life has been partially improved. But the mode of production is still scattered and backward; hence the yields have not yet increased and living conditions have improved but slightly. The movement for setting up worker-exchange teams and cooperatives in our countryside must be extensively and firmly pushed forward in order to bring about a firm increase in production; only then can our peasants escape poverty and see their condition improved.

Therefore, REVOLUTIONARY MORALITY CONSISTS IN STRIVING TO ACHIEVE THE PARTY'S OBJECTIVE, faithfully serving the working class and the toiling people, and never wavering.

Most members of the Party and the Working youth Union and most cadres have done so, but some have not. They wrongly think that now that the colonialists and feudalists have been got rid of in the North, the revolution has been successfully completed. That is why they let individualism develop within themselves, demand enjoyment and rest, and want to pick their own work instead of fulfilling the tasks entrusted to them by their organization. They want high positions, but shirk responsibilities. Their combativeness and energy gradually weaken, and so do their revolutionary courage and noble virtues. They forget that the prime criterion of a revolutionary IS [ONE'S] RESOLVE TO STRUGGLE ALL [ONE'S] LIFE FOR THE PARTY AND THE REVOLUTION.

We must realize that the successes recorded by us so far are only the first steps on a thousand-league road. We must advance further, the revolution must make further progress. Otherwise, we shall regress, and the successes we have gained cannot be consolidated and developed.

To advance to socialism, we must wage a long and hard struggle. We must have revolutionaries, for there still exist enemies, who oppose the revolution. There are three kinds of enemies:

Capitalism and imperialism are very dangerous ones.

Backward habits and traditions are also big enemies: they insidiously hinder the progress of the revolution. However, we cannot repress them, but must seek to correct them with caution, perseverance, and over a long period of time.

The third enemy is INDIVIDUALISM, the petty-bourgeois mentality which still lurks in each of us. It is waiting for an opportunity--either failure or success--to rear its head. It is the ally of the two-above-mentioned categories.

Therefore, REVOLUTIONARY MORALITY consists, in whatever circumstances, in resolutely struggling against all enemies, maintaining one's vigilance, standing ready to fight, and refusing to submit, to bow one's head. Only by so doing can we defeat the enemy, and fulfill our revolutionary tasks.

It is due to its correct policy and unified leadership that our Party can lead the working class and the entire people to socialism. This unified leadership springs from the unity of thought and action of all its members.

Without this unity we would be like "an orchestra in which the drums play one way and the horns another." It would not be possible for us to lead the masses and make revolution.

The Party members' words and deeds have a great bearing on the revolution for they exert influence on the masses. For instance: the peasant policy of our Party and Government is broadly and closely to organize work-exchange teams and cooperatives, to carry out agricultural cooperation. But a number of Party and Working Youth Union members do not join them, or, having joined them, do not actively contribute to their building and consolidation. It is INDIVIDUALISM which has led those comrades to do as they please and to go counter to the Party's organization and discipline. Wittingly or unwittingly, their actions impair the prestige of the Party, hinder its work and impede the advances of the revolution.

All the Party's policies and resolutions aim at serving the people's interests. Therefore, for a Party member, revolutionary morality consists in resolutely implementing them, whatever the difficulties, and setting an example to the people and the Party. [WE] must guard against and resolutely oppose individualism.

Our Party represents the COMMON INTERESTS of the working class and the entire laboring people, not the private interests of any group or individual. This everybody knows.

The working class struggle not only to free themselves, but also to liberate mankind [people] from oppression and exploitation. Therefore, their interests and those of the people are at one.

The Party members, in the name of the Party, represent the interests of the working class and the laboring people. That is why [his/her] own interests lie within, not without, those of the Party and the class. Success and victory for the Party and the class means success and victory for the militant. Separated from the Party and the class, no individual, however talented, can achieve anything.

Revolutionary morality, for a Party member, consists in putting the Party's interests above everything else, in all circumstances. If the Party's interests are in contradiction with those of the individual, the latter must absolutely give way to the former.

For having not cleansed themselves of individualism, some Party members still boast of "their services to the Party," for which they claim the Party's "gratitude." They want to enjoy favor, honor, rank and privileges. If their desires are not satisfied, they bear resentment against the Party, complaining that they have "no future" and are "sacrificed." They gradually drift away from the Party; worse still, they sabotage its policies and discipline.

Many cadres and fighters in the period of underground struggle and the war of resistance heroically laid down their lives; many labor heroes and elite workers have done their utmost to increase production. Those comrades have never asked for rank and honor, never demanded thanks from the Party.

Our Party has a mass character, and hundreds of thousands of members. Owing to the situation in our country, the bulk of Party members spring from the petty bourgeoisie. There is nothing surprising in it. In the beginning, under the influence of bourgeois ideology, the stand of some Party members may lack firmness, their outlook may be confused and their thinking not quite correct; but owing to the fact that they have been tempered in the revolution and the war of resistance, our Party members are by and large good militants, faithful to the Party and the revolution.

Those comrades know that those Party members who commit errors will lead the masses into error; therefore, they stand ready to correct any mistake they may make, and this in a timely way, and do not allow small errors to accumulate into big ones. They sincerely practice criticism and self-criticism, which makes it possible for them to progress together.

This conforms to revolutionary morality. During its many years of underground activity, our Party, although harshly repressed by the colonialists and meeting with numerous difficulties and dangers, developed and grew stronger with every passing day, and then led the revolution and the war of resistance to victory. This is due to its effective use of this sharp weapon: CRITICISM and SELF-CRITICISM.

However, there still remain some Party members who, unable to shake off individualism, become arrogant and conceited and keep flaunting their merits. While criticizing others, they do not like being criticized; they avoid self-criticism or practice it without sincerity and seriousness. They are

afraid they might lose face and prestige. They pay no attention to the opinion of the masses, and make light of non-Party cadres. They do not realize that it is difficult not to commit any errors in one's work. We are not afraid of possible mistakes, but of failure to correct them resolutely. To redress them, we must listen to criticism by the masses and practice sincere self-criticism. Otherwise we shall lag behind and regress, which will lead to our being cast aside by the masses. This is the inevitable consequence of individualism.

The forces of the working class and the laboring people are immense, boundless; but they must be led by the Party if they are to win. At the same time, the Party must be close to the masses, and skilfully organize and lead them, if the revolution is to triumph.

Revolutionary morality consists in uniting with the masses in one body, trusting them and paying attention to their opinion. By their words and deeds, Party and Working Youth Union members and cadres win the people's confidence, respect and love, closely unite them around the Party, organize, educate and mobilize them so that they will enthusiastically implement the Party's policies and resolutions. That is what we have done during the revolution and the war of resistance.

But at present, individualism is haunting a number of our comrades. Claiming to be clever in everything, they stray from the masses, refuse to learn from them and want only to be their teachers. They are reluctant to engage in organization, propaganda, and education work among the masses. They become infected with bureaucratism and commandism. As a result, the masses neither trust nor respect them, much less love them. Eventually, they can do nothing good.

The North of our country is advancing to socialism. This is the urgent aspiration of millions of laboring people. This is the collective undertaking of the toiling masses under our Party's leadership. Individualism is a big obstacle to the building of socialism. Therefore, the success of socialism cannot be separated from that of the struggle for the elimination of individualism.

To struggle against individualism is not "to trample on individual interests." Each person has [their] own character...private life, and that of [their] family. There is no harm when the interests of the individual do not go counter to those of the collective. But one must realize that only under the socialist regime can each person improve [their] private life and develop [their] personality and [their] strong points.

No system equals socialism and communism in showing respect for [people], paying due attention to [their] legitimate individual interests and ensuring that they be satisfied. In a society ruled by the exploiting class, only the individual interests of a few people belonging to this class are met, whereas those of the toiling masses are trampled underfoot. But in the socialist and communist systems, of which the laboring people are the masters, each [person] is a part of the collective, plays a definite role in it, and contributes [their] part to society. That is why the interests of the individual lies within those of the collective and are part of them. Only when the latter are secured can the former be satisfied.

The interests of the individual are closely tied to those of the collective. If there is any contradiction between them, revolutionary morality demands that the former yield to the latter.

The revolution unceasingly progresses. So does the Party. And so must the revolutionary.

The revolutionary movement involves hundreds of millions of people. Revolutionary work involves thousands of extremely complex and difficult tasks. In order to be able to assess all complex situations, clearly see the contradictions, and correctly solve the various problems, we must strive to study Marxism-Leninism.

Only by so doing can we consolidate our revolutionary morality, firmly maintain our stand, raise our theoretical and political level, and fulfill the tasks entrusted to us by the Party.

To study Marxism-Leninism is to learn the spirit in which one should deal with things, with other people, and with oneself. It means to study the universal Marxist-Leninist truths in order to apply them creatively to the practical conditions of our country. We must study with a view to action. Theory must go hand in hand with practice.

But some comrades only learn by heart a few books on Marxism-Leninism. They think they understand Marxism-Leninism better than anyone else. Yet, when faced with practical problems, they either act in a mechanical way or are thrown into confusion. Their deeds do not match their words. They study books on Marxism-Leninism but do not seek to acquire the Marxist-Leninist spirit. They only want to show off their knowledge, not to apply it to revolutionary action. This is also individualism.

Individualism spawns hundreds of dangerous diseases: bureaucratism; commandism; sectarianism; subjectiveness; corruption; waste....It ties up and blindfolds its victims whose every action is guided by their desire for honor and position, not by concern for the interests of the class and the people.

Individualism is a cruel enemy of socialism. The revolutionary must do away with it. Let all members of the Party and the Working Youth Union, let all cadres within and without the Party be resolved to devote all their lives to serving the Party and the people. This is the noble virtue of the revolutionary, this is revolutionary morality, the Party and class spirit, which ensures victory for the Party, the class, and the people.

Revolutionary morality does not fall from the sky. It is developed and consolidated through preserving daily struggle and effort. Like jade, the more it is polished, the more it shines. Like gold, it grows ever purer as it goes into the melting pot....(END)

RESOURCES

SUNVIEWS, by Sundiata Acoli \$5.00

Essays, book reviews, positions papers on subjects ranging from the Prison Movement to the Black Liberation Army. Also, an updated version of SOME SOLUTIONS, or THINGS TO DO, a discussion paper on Independence and Socialism as the objective of the New Afrikan nation, with suggested tactics and strategies. Write: BCNS at address below.

LEST WE FORGET, by Safiya Bukhari \$3.00

A chronicle of biographies of unsung heroes of the National Liberation struggle, focusing on members of the Black Panther Party and the Black Liberation Army.

Black Community News Service
P.O. Box 22711
Newark, New Jersey 07101

A PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE: AN ANALYTICAL OUTLINE OF THE STRUGGLE OF AFRIKANS IN NORTH AMERICA, by the PG-RNA

Write for price and other info: PG-RNA
P.O. Box 6403
Washington, D.C. 20009



UPFRONT
A Black Women's Newspaper

P.O. BOX 2293
WASHINGTON, D.C.

SUBSCRIBE NOW

Read The UPFRONT

- ☐ I would like to subscribe to UPFRONT. Payment is enclosed/ \$5.00 for one year.
- ☐ Here is a contribution of _____ to help support UPFRONT.
- ☐ I would like to know more about joining the UPFRONT COLLECTIVE; ☐ submitting articles; ☐ submitting graphics; ☐ how can I help with distribution and production.

Name: _____

Address: _____
(Street) (City) (State) (Zip)

Phone: _____

THE DESCENDING LINE OF DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM and RUINATION OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY, by Max Stanford \$2.25/\$5.00 on cassette

THE ROAD AHEAD, by Max Stanford \$2.00/\$5.00 on cassette

Money orders payable to: Max Stanford
P.O. Box 08152
Cleveland, Ohio 44108-0152

AFRICAN WOMEN RISING
P.O. Box 8676
Washington, D.C. 20011

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY
P.O. Box 04252
Detroit, Mi. 48204

JOURNAL OF AFRICAN MARXISTS
57 Caledonian Road
London N1 9DN U.K.
Surface: \$14; Air: \$18

THE NEW AFRIKAN
P.O. Box 6403
Washington, D.C. 20009
Free to prisoners

SAGE: A Scholarly Journal on Black Women
P.O. Box 42741
Atlanta, Ga. 30311-0741
\$15.00 for 2 issues per year

Afram Associates, Inc. -- Write for info on: Afram Communique Series;
68-72 East 131 Street Aframedia, and other information services.
Harlem, New York 10037

THE REVOLUTION IN SOUTH AFRICA: AN ANALYSIS, \$1.50
ACPRC or Boxholder
P.O. Box 27314 P.O. Box 1854
Raleigh, N.C. 27611 Manhattanville Station
New York, New York 10027

LIBERATION (international anti-imperialist journal from Dar es Salaam,
edited by Karrim Essack) \$10.00 per year. Order thru:

Jacobin Books
Box 416, Van Brunt Station
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11215

(Mail Order Catalog & Review, \$1...free to prisoners)

ADULIS (Eritrean People's Liberation Front) \$15.00
check or money order payable to:

Amin M. Said
42 rue Lebour
93100 Montreuil, France

Book Review

CRISIS IN AFRICA: BATTLEGROUND OF EAST & WEST
by Arthur Gavshon. New York: Penguin Books, \$6.95

Reviewed by Barry S. Little

After a century of colonialism, Africa is on the verge of establishing itself as a sovereign continent with a cultural, political, and economic identity of its own. The rebirth of Africa, however, is threatened by the "Cold War" global politics and policies of Washington and Moscow.

Journalist Arthur Gavshon has had access to world leaders in both Western and Communist nations for over thirty years. CRISIS IN AFRICA deals with the declared and covert aims of superpower rivalry threatening to destroy Africa today. The role of the Communist (the Soviet Union, Cuba and China) and Western powers (the U.S., France and Britain), are examined in depth, as well as two case histories: Angola and Ethiopia.

CRISIS IN AFRICA begins with a brief look at pre-colonial Africa; the arrival of Arab and European invaders that triggered the slave trade and the resulting destruction of African lives and civilizations; the balkanization of the continent at the infamous Berlin Conference of 1885-86 that signaled the beginning of colonialism; and newly "independent" Africa and the neo-colonialist legacy of her former colonial masters. It is at this stage that Gavshon deals with the power politics of the East-West conflict over Africa, and the enormous stakes involved.

Gavshon argues that in their scramble for Africa's vast mineral resources, strategic trade routes and potential military facilities to protect these routes, the superpowers have turned Africa into a battleground for which they can pursue their own geopolitical interests at the ultimate expense of the Africans. He feels that Africans have been denied use of their continents' resources and the modern technology needed to improve their lives for too long.

Concerning the political, social and economic realities of Africa, the author contends that:

- 1) The specter of the Berlin Conference and colonialism continues to plague Africa with inept, corrupt, and often brutal African leadership that merely replaced the European colonial administrators.
- 2) This neo-colonialist African ruling elite assists in maintaining indirect colonial rule by previous colonial nations over Africa, which is directly responsible for all the ills of exploitation and under-development on the continent.

3) Both the Soviets and the u.s. support these regimes--most of whom have been known to change their ideological position based on their own egotistical, selfish needs and whichever superpower happens to be the most generous with "aid" at the time--out of political and economic expediency, rather than altruistic reasons.

Another important issue Gavshon deals with, is the superpowers arms race in Africa. Millions of dollars in military aid is funneled into recipient states that suffer from drought, mass starvation, disease, extreme poverty and illiteracy, while aid that would solve these problems is given in paltry sums by comparison. As competition for influence and control over Africa via this military build-up escalates, there is also the possibility of a serious confrontation between the Soviets and the u.s.--one that will make the "East-West tribalism" conflicting African states are now embroiled in as a result of superpower meddling, look tame by comparison.

Gavshon describes the initial contact that the three Communist and Western countries made in Africa; their goals and aims on the continent both overt and covert, and the mistakes they made that allowed their opponents to gain significant political influence, or create problems and conditions that they allegedly were trying to prevent in the first place.

Cuba and China made the least political blunders in Africa than all the other countries in the book. In spite of these mistakes, both countries did enormous good in Africa, often showing up the two superpowers and their allies, who were more preoccupied with supplying Africans with the latest military hardware, or placing technological aid over human aid, rather than achieving a reasonable balance between the two. Gavshon says:

...In contrast with functional aid provided in other African lands by the USSR, the American Peace Corps, and the countries of East and West Europe, Cuba's commitment in Angola and elsewhere had, immediately, more meaning to Africans in hovels and high places alike. Stressing their own African heritage, Cuban field-workers lived with and like the Africans they trained, without demanding the best local accommodations available. Just as the Chinese did, they openly acknowledged that they, like the Africans, were an underdeveloped people.

The author also points out, interestingly enough, in spite of its reputation for being a "natural ally" of developing countries struggling for their national liberation, the Soviet Union in many instances has fared no better than the West. Soviet-African relations have soured on more than one occasion, such as they did in Egypt, Tanzania, and Guinea:

...The Russians, like the Americans, knew little of Africa. The rigidity of their ideology conflicted with their strategic aims in a variety of situations...The Soviet Union, through experience, built up a body of knowledge and a school of experts which helped its envoys to avoid some of the clumsy, often arrogant, diplomacy they had perpetrated in Africa in the past. Moscow came to learn

the hard way that pure doctrine was no substitute, in the African context, for getting to know and satisfy the yearnings of blacks for development and modernization. The reality of their needs compelled most African states to accord greater priority to North-South relations than to East-West ideological ones.

In an attempt to delay inevitable African majority rule, Britain, in collusion with fascist South Africa and the nefarious Ian Smith regime, prolonged Zimbabwe's civil war, that cost thousands of lives and untold suffering.

France also had its share of problems in Africa, starting with Algeria's bloody, prolonged revolution against French settler domination; the Central African Republic and the support of dictator Jean-Bouddel Bokassa, whose excesses were exceeded only by his barbaric reprisals and repression against all who criticized or opposed him; and Chad, where French troops recently intervened against Libyan-backed guerrillas.

Turning to the united states and its long, ugly history of racism and repression towards its African-American population, it should be no surprise that regional African conflicts and problems were blamed on Communist agitation--just as the civil rights movement in this country was several decades ago. The u.s. has racked up an impressive number of foreign policy screw-ups, from CIA sponsored coups and assassinations to the tacit approval and support of South Africa's apartheid regime and its barbaric military incursions into Southern Africa's frontline states.

I must point out that, above all else, American anti-communism has always been racially motivated. Only African, Latin, Asian and Arab governments that are Socialist oriented are considered a threat to Western "freedom and democracy"--a clever but transparent euphemism for international white supremacist domination and exploitation of the Third World. These countries and governments consequently, are the only ones that have destabilization and intervention campaigns launched against them by the u.s. and its allies. The Soviet Union and Communist regimes in Eastern Europe, in spite of all the verbal antagonism directed against them (which is primarily for entertainment purposes on the evening news and fillers for re-election speeches), reap the benefits of American technological and agricultural trade; low interest loans with favorable repayment schedules, and full diplomatic relations and recognition--no matter how repressive, totalitarian, and expansionist they are.

Gavshon is, quite naturally, pro-West in his outlook and analysis. However, unlike many white journalists, he doesn't ignore the bungling, racist stupidity and political misjudgments of u.s. foreign policy and that of its allies towards Africa. Nor does he attribute African hostility towards the West and its "strategic allies" in South Africa solely to the "International Communist Conspiracy," as some people would have us believe. He puts the blame where it really belongs: on the oppressive governments imposed on the African by the West, the apartheid regime of South Africa, and the African's dogged determination to rightly remove the foot of such oppressive systems off his neck.

Finally, he doesn't try to be "objective"--only fair, presenting all the facts and letting the reader make the final judgement--a trait the so-called "free press" in this country would do well to establish for its own sake.

Augmented with figures and tables of revealing information, CRISIS IN AFRICA is essential reading for anyone concerned with the future of Africa and Africans not only in Africa, but world wide.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NAMIBIAN REVOLUTION

The social composition of the population of developing countries is most diverse and as a result, contemporary revolutionary movements are born out of social conditions like contradictions between socialism and capitalism; labor and capital; the broad popular masses and monopolies; the forces of peace and the forces of war and, above all, between democratic and reactionary forces.

Alongside these contradictions and the general problems facing the whole world today, the Namibian revolution has its own, specific, subjective and objective conditions and tasks to fulfill; it was born and developed on a definite social and economic foundation, and has its own motive forces.

Basically, Namibia's economy is characterized by two prominent features:

- 1) The capitalist component of the economy, based on the extensive extraction of the country's varied natural resources, fishing and ranching.
- 2) A subsistence agriculture enveloping the majority of the exploited and dispossessed African population who is forced to live in the bantustans. This socio-economic state of affairs has been consciously designed in accordance with the social interest of the oppressive settler group and international monopoly capitalism.

Thus, the economic and political affairs of Namibia have been dominated by foreign capital which suppresses any manifestations of political independence, slows down the development of the country, deforms it and turns our mineral-rich territory into a raw materials appendage.

Namibia has been turned into a strategic reserve of the colonial system of imperialism. Quite often our country has been used as a bastion against the growing forces of socialism, and a military bridgehead for imperialist and racist aggression. It is a source of cheap raw materials and free labor and an extremely profitable consumer market.

World imperialism, therefore, not only directly oppresses the people of Namibia and suppresses all their manifestations of political independence, but it is also the principal mentor of internal reactionary forces. That is why imperialism and financial monopoly are the biggest enemies of the oppressed Namibian people.

The principal aim of the Namibian national liberation revolution is to abolish the yoke of imperialism, win political independence and, consequently, establish an independent, democratic and sovereign national state.

Since the central issue of the Namibian revolution is the seizure of state power, the solution of such a vast and complicated human undertaking is inconceivable without the participation of the broad masses of the Namibian people.

Motive Forces of Namibia's Revolution

Before examining the motive forces of the Namibian revolution one should recall that the revolutionary process differs from country to country due to the uneven character of the economic and political development of the various countries; constant changes in the balance of class forces; and the stubborn resistance of the ruling classes to relinquish power. The world

revolution, of which the Namibian revolution is an integral part, is not smoothly proceeding in the same way in all countries. Every country has to go through its own definite political stages.

The motive forces of the Namibian revolution encompass the following classes and social groups:

-- One of the main forces behind the Namibian revolution is the steadily growing working class which is in the process of solidifying and organizing into a class.

This class is small but owing to its objective position in the Namibian society, it is the most revolutionary social force which, more than any other, is concerned with bringing the Namibian revolution to a victorious conclusion.

Given the current state of affairs in the course of the Namibian revolution, the working class swells its ranks, becomes organized and acquires political experience. Its level of class consciousness and awareness enhances and its dependable and patriotic alliance with other sections of the population develops and strengthens.

-- The peasantry is numerically the biggest and, like in most African countries, is the main motive force of the Namibian revolution. The Namibian peasantry is naturally an anti-imperialist, anti-racist, and anti-feudal force which fights for the elimination of political and economic domination of foreign capital and the rule of tribal nobility.

-- The petty-bourgeoisie also constitutes an important element of the motive forces of the Namibian revolution.

This social class participates in the Namibian revolution for the sake of its class interests and above all to develop the future national economy of Namibia, and to secure its political domination of the Namibian society.

-- The national bourgeoisie in Namibia has a dual nature. Insofar as it is interested in fighting the racist Botha regime or foreign imperialism, and internal pro-imperialist forces and tribal nobility in the first place, the national bourgeoisie goes along with the Namibian people. However, it fears the revolutionary working class and peasantry, regarding these two classes as a threat to its exploitative ambitions, thereby retarding socio-economic and political development.

Democratic Intelligentsia

-- The national democratic intelligentsia constitutes an important and leading role in the Namibian national liberation revolution. It plays a particularly great role in the Namibian revolutionary process where the working class is just solidifying and organizing itself into a class.

In terms of our revolution, the present stage of the Namibian revolution has given rise to a unique combination of subjective and objective factors which make it possible for us to organize and wage a revolutionary war against South Africa along the following interconnected lines.

The development of the struggle against the evils of colonialism, racism, political persecution, brutality and intransigence on the part of the colonizer, to a point where there was disillusionment amongst the masses of the Namibian people with the prospects of achieving liberation by peaceful pro-

cesses, and their readiness to respond to the strategy of armed struggle with all the enormous sacrifices that it entails, brought to the fore the necessity on the part of the vanguard movement, SWAPO, to adopt the strategy of revolutionary violence.

The uniqueness of the Namibian conditions has given rise to a black working class which, though small in size, is getting class consciousness and organized. This working class consciousness and organization is attributable to political experience and maturity.

It is the objective existence of these two conditions that serves as a material foundation, and gives meaning to our strategy of combining mass general mobilization and decisive action for final victory with armed struggle.

The strategic objective of our national liberation struggle at this stage is the seizure of political power from the hands of the racist white minority and its transfer into the hands of the democratic majority of the oppressed Namibian people.

The planning of this transfer should, therefore, take into account the moribund state apparatus of racist south Africa whose military power must be destroyed; Namibia must be liberated, and the will of the enemy must be subdued.

The ultimate and fundamental objective here, therefore, is the total destruction of the inhuman system of apartheid and colonialism. (end)

(From: THE COMBATANT, Offocial Monthly Organ of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), April, 1986. Published by PLAN Commissariat, P.O. Box 512, Lubango, People's Republic of Angola; Printed by the SWAPO Department of Information and Publicity, P.O. Box 953, Luanda, Angola.)

PRETORIA IS IN REAL TROUBLE

The declaration of a war of disarmament against the blacks in South Africa by the European colonialist invaders in the 1870s was to make a people defenseless. That condition was to be followed by mass slaughter with impunity of the indigenous Azanians.

To ensure perpetual enslavement of the dispossessed, descendants of the settler invaders declared martial law at the outbreak of the First World War --a form of rule whose express purpose was to crush the "rebellion" of the Africans.

Iron fist rule repeated itself 64 years ago when marauding band leader General Smuts declared martial law to deal with riotous white miners who were protesting against the employment of African labor in the mine hierarchy.

The first state of emergency in South Africa was declared in 1960 when the PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA launched the Decisive Action Positive Campaign against the hated pass laws--a campaign that resulted in what was to be known as the Sharpsville Massacre. The PAC and the other liberation movement were banned.

State of emergency was declared for the second time last year again for the purpose of trying to destroy the Azanian people's will to resist. The third emergency rule came in June this year [1986] once more to silence the black majority.

Like all colonialists, Pretoria had all its tricks exhausted and what was left was brute force, and it alone, which had to be resorted to. The army and police are now running the show while the "parliamentarians" are just cowering behind the generals and corporals.

As Pieter Botha has ordered, it is "shoot first ask after," with the SADF and police engaging in the Nazi-like campaign of kill all, destroy all and detain all. White supremacy has got to be maintained at all costs, including the genocide of a nation, if it need be.

The only unfortunate part in the whole scheme is that the soldiers and police have not taken into account that the nation which has to go, has an army of its own--an army that has made it no secret that it is laboring day and night not only to arm the dispossessed people of our country, but to strike the main blow at the settler soldiers and police.

That army, the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY (APLA), is carrying out the PAC's "arm the people campaign" according to plan. But even more notably, the enemy has been made to feel the pressure, as Pretoria has and is daily admitting through official remarks, radio, television and the newspapers.

Pretoria is in trouble, real trouble. It has been told by, among many

others, SUNDAY STAR editor Peter Sullivan...to talk to the ANC and other moderates now, before it is too late "to avoid future confrontation with radical groups led by the banned PAC" who have now stolen the show in the townships of South Africa.

It is feared that "history will soon repeat itself," with the moderate groups, including the ANC, being rendered "irrelevant" by history in the same way as Chief Gatsha Buthelezi was.

In the meantime, we of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, led by the PAC, "radicals as we have been branded," say let the settler army and police rave and work themselves into a frenzy, overdo or underdo things as they wish, commit their traditional stupidities--whatever they do--they are doomed by history.

To the war of land repossession now!

One Settler One Bullet!

Izwe Lethu! I-Afrika!

(From: AZANIA COMBAT, Official Organ of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA). Published by the PAC Military Wing, APLA/POQO, P.O. Box 2412, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.)

THE MEANING OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION
AND THE
BLACK STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA

By Ranwedzi Nengwekhulu

The current popularity of the notion of the democratic struggle necessitates a clear definition not only of the essence of the concept, but also its implications, limits, and possibilities in the context of the black struggle for national liberation to create Azania from the ruins of South Africa.

The need to define the content and boundaries of the notion of national democratic revolution cannot be over emphasized in view of the fact that it is easily misunderstood and misused. But more importantly also, it is easy to confuse it with the liberal, bourgeois notion of democracy.

Let us consider the notion of democracy first before considering the concept of national democratic struggle. The problem regarding the true meaning of democracy has always been a controversial one. In other words, the problems regarding the meaning of democracy have always been a focal point of fierce ideological struggles. Small wonder, therefore, that the black struggle for national liberation in South Africa finds itself today having to confront the same problems. It finds itself called upon to specify and define the content and boundaries of this controversial concept. What are its principal features? The most general feature of any democracy whatever the differences in real content and meaning, is the official and formal recognition of equality of the political rights of all citizens, i.e., recognition of their equal right to participate in governing the state and determining their destinies. Equality of the citizens' political rights recorded in appropriate legal acts (instruments). Seen from this perspective, democracy may be defined as a form of government in which all citizens have equal rights to participate in the government of the state.

Central, therefore, to the institution of democracy are basic norms such as universal suffrage, election of government, majority rule in the latter, etc. For the liberal bourgeoisie, these elements are seen as a key mechanism of consensus, freedom, etc., and a means of countervailing competing interests, i.e., of a general reconciliation of the interests of classes in a capitalist society. Thus, legal-formal democracy is the hallmark of liberal bourgeois democracy. More importantly, however, is the fact that bourgeois democracy is an expression and incarnation of capitalism. Capitalism, "Free market" or "Free enterprise," is seen as the touchstone of democracy. Hence, liberal democrats do not see any contradictions between democracy and class divisions in a capitalist society.

Whilst recognizing the significance of an need for universal suffrage, election of government and majority rule for the realization of genuine democracy, it is, however, important to recognize that these are merely means to an end, rather than ends in themselves; for genuine democracy entails much more than legal entitlement to vote, universal suffrage, representation in parliament, etc. Genuine democracy entails the creation of a

society in which the interests of workers become dominant interests, and the state, as a political organ of society, becomes an embodiment and instrument of workers' interests--a prelude to the creation of a society in which social classes will cease to exist and democracy becomes superfluous. The struggle to create and establish a genuine democracy in Azania should be seen as a means to the creation of a classless Azania rather than as an end in itself, for democracy, whatever its form, is a product of class divisions and is therefore only necessary as long as class divisions exist; a society in which cold individualism, the hallmark of liberal democracy, will have no place and the individual will no longer be divorced from society and juxtaposed to it. But this kind of society can't be achieved within the context of the existing socio-economic and political conditions, nor can true democracy, the precondition for a successful transition to a classless society, be achieved in the present situation in Azania.

It is this reality that the proponents of "progressive democracy" in Azania do not and cannot comprehend; for them, the struggle concerns the democratization of the existing structures and institutions and not their liquidation and their replacement by a new socio-economic and political order whose central determinant compass will be workers' interests. True democracy in Azania is only possible in a socialist Azania. It is therefore important to differentiate between the struggle for bourgeois democratism and the struggle for democracy from the position of the basic interests of the working class. Viewed from this perspective, the present "movement for democracy" in Azania is a movement for bourgeois democratism precisely because it is not guided by proletarian ideology and does not therefore see the realization of black workers' interests as its ultimate objective. Its weaknesses emanate from the fact that it does not take the class and class struggle as its point of departure in assessing the essence of democracy.

The result is that democracy is viewed as if it is a neutral and classless concept. The end product will be, if the process is allowed to continue, to lock the revolutionary process within the confines of bourgeois democratism and parliamentarism which will ensure the continued economic and political dominance of capital over labor.

The implications of this conception of democracy are serious for the black struggle for liberation, for the struggle is depicted as a struggle for the elimination of apartheid and its replacement by democracy, meaning bourgeois democracy. What the so-called democratic movement is calling for is social reformism which does not challenge the foundations of capitalism. This kind of democratic movement differs fundamentally from a national democratic alliance founded on proletarian ideological hegemony for, in a national democratic movement the determining factor that shapes and directs the national democratic movement is the establishment of a proletarian democracy. Proletarian hegemony in the national democratic revolution fulfills the fundamental role of a motive force which ensures the continual development of democratic revolution necessary for the creation of conditions for advancing socialist goals. But all the forces from the oppressed and exploited, capable of fighting for these goals must group around the proletariat, which must be the leader of the struggle for socialist tran-

sition. This grouping of revolutionary forces from the oppressed and exploited around the proletariat represents and expresses the social essence of the development of the democratic into the socialist revolution.

In bourgeois democratic movements, the leadership of the struggle is in the hands of the bourgeoisie and other reactionary forces, and the motive force for the movement is the bourgeoisie and, bourgeois ideology becomes the centerpiece of the movement. The proletariat serves as cannon fodder to advance the struggle for bourgeois hegemony. It is this feature which defines the so-called democratic movement in Azania today. Absent in this movement is proletarian hegemony, reminding one of the French bourgeois revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries, in which the emergent working class and the peasantry were used as cannon fodder against feudal aristocracy. For, although their slogans were spiced with words like "Fraternity," "Liberty" and "Equality," the revolution was essentially a bourgeois one which installed bourgeois hegemony whilst leaving the workers and peasants wallowing in abject poverty, exploitation, etc.

Thus, as long as the so-called democratic movement is led by the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois elements, the movement will, in the absence of a proletarian ideology, remain essentially a movement for social reformism unable to tackle the specter of capitalism and imperialism, the twin bastions of apartheid. In other words, it will remain essentially a civil rights movement. Small wonder that the movement has become a darling of the bourgeois press and imperialists, who see it as the lifeline to the sinking ship in the rough waters of revolution. Its inability to link apartheid to capitalism and imperialism stems from its bourgeois social base and perspective.

What must be borne in mind is that although by its nature a national democratic movement for national liberation groups together all the revolutionary forces from the oppressed and exploited, irrespective of class position, it must however, be fastidious in order to avoid bringing into the struggle petty-bourgeois and bourgeois elements who may retard and derail the struggle.

What, then, is the role of whites in this struggle for national liberation? In short, what is their place in the national democratic revolution? This is an important question, for the so-called democratic movement has defined itself democratic because it includes whites in its ranks.

This of course reveals a gross misunderstanding of the nature and historical process of the national democratic struggle for national liberation. A national democratic struggle for national liberation by its definition, excludes participation by members of the oppressing and exploiting class or group or elements from the dominant group. This is logical, for there can't be common ground between the oppressed and oppressor, the exploited and exploiter, just as there cannot be common ground for co-operation between the slave and slave master or rider and horse. The argument by the so-called democratic movement is that a national democratic movement transcends race and color for it is based in opposition to apartheid. This is certainly a very simplistic understanding of the nature of the character of the South African socio-economic and political conditions and the black struggle for the creation of Azania, for it ignores the place and role of race in the struggle for national liberation

Whilst it is true that race relations are in the final analysis determined by the production and production relations, i.e., by the economy, it is also true that at a given stage in the historical development of a society the relations of production are expressed through relations of race and color. This is not, however, to suggest that the relations of production are contained in the relations of race, for the relations of production have an integrity of their own; but rather to suggest that race relations have a relative independence. Once this simple reality is understood and acknowledged, the simplistic and naive notion of "pure" struggle untainted by race and color becomes a mirage which cannot be achieved. Any analysis which the necessity to incorporate race as a significant aspect of the South African struggle is bound to be useless for the struggle to create Azania for, race is a reality which not only reflects relations between the two races in South Africa but also influences the character and direction of the struggle. Thus even if race awareness, white racism and their consequences are purely manifestations of ideology, this is not a reason to ignore its real effects on any organization or movement that seeks to draw membership across the racial boundaries. The thesis of the "pure" class struggle and the amorphous character of the present so-called democratic movement have been employed in South Africa for decades in order to justify the inclusion of whites in the black struggle for national liberation. These simplistic arguments were central in the rejection of the black republic thesis at the 1928 Communist International by the South African Communist Party; the same tactic was used in 1955 when the so-called Freedom Charter was adopted. Now, the same capacity to ignore reality is being manifested in the so-called democratic movement.

The consequence of this attitude are crucial for the black struggle for liberation. In the first place, the struggle is reduced to a civil rights struggle, i.e., a struggle for mere equality. Hence the emphasis the so-called democratic movement places on the elimination of apartheid. This means that the struggle is not a struggle against colonialism, imperialism and capitalism.

In the second place, the history of the black struggle in South Africa has demonstrated clearly that when whites are co-opted into the black struggle, they have a tendency of gravitating to leadership positions and of usurping leadership positions, thereby stifling the struggle and misdirecting it away from the real problem--that of colonial exploitation.

The struggle for national liberation will not be won by amorphous organizations parading under the label of democracy, but rather by the black national democratic movement founded on a proletarian ideology. (end)

(From: SOLIDARITY, official organ of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCM-A), February, 1986. Published by the Publicity and Information Department of BCM-A, B.M. Box 4830, London WC1 M3XX)

Available from Spear & Shield Publications

VWW/NOTES FROM A NEW AFRIKAN POW JOURNAL, Books One thru Seven (Combined)

Book One: Reflections on the 'Prison Movement'--On Transforming the Colonial and Criminal Mentality; New Afrikan POW's and the United Nations; Discussion Paper: Contributions Toward the National Prisoners Movement; Discussion Paper: The 'Prison Movement' and National Liberation.

Book Two: We STILL Charge Genocide--The 13th Amendment: Instrument of Legalized Slavery and the Re-Subjugation of New Afrika; We STILL Charge Genocide; Toward Clarity on Captive Colonials, Political Prisoners, and Prisoners of War; On Revolutionary Politics; On Concrete Solidarity; Message to Afrikan American Women for Positive and Productive Change.

Book Three: We Fell Only To Rise Again--Thoughts on the Eve of a New Year; Are We Asking The Right Questions?; From One Generation To The Next.

Book Four: Vita Wa Watu--Vita WA Watu; Debray Re-Visited.

Book Five: Combat Genocide--Combat Colonial Violence: Heighten the National Democratic Revolution--Introduction; We STILL Charge Genocide (revised); Combat Colonial Violence, Heighten the National Democratic Revolution (Foundation/Toward A New Style of Work/The Struggle Is For Land and Socialism/The National Democratic Revolution/The Three Weapons of the National Democratic Revolution: The Party, The Army, The National United Front).

Book Six: Against The Wind--Who Killed McDuffie? (a poem); Against the Wind: A Response to "Organizational Connection of the Mass Front and the Armed Front"; Iranian Excerpts (OIPFG) On the Necessity of Armed Struggle and Refutation of the theory of "Survival"; Armed Struggle: The Road to the Mobilization of the Masses.

Book Seven: Carry On The Tradition--Kamp Documents; Coming of Age; On Transforming the Colonial and Criminal Mentality (revised); In The Spirit of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark: Carry on the Tradition; Discussion Paper Excerpts: Thoughts on Consolidation, Ideology and Organization.

Liberation Calender--1978

Liberation Calender--1979

VWW, Book Eight: Black Liberation (a speech by James forman); On the Transition of the 'Black Liberation' Phrase, Concept and Movement; Creative Image Scholarship Fund.

VWW, Book Nine: On the Link Between Oppression of New Afrikan Women and the New Afrikan National Liberation Revolution (part one); Ending Colonial Police Violence in the Afrikan Community; Organization Means Commitment; on the R.N.A. and the Provisional Government; Position Paper on the Independent R.N.A. Foreign Policy.

So That We Don't Fool Ourselves--Again: Study Notes on Secure Communication -- Introduction; Notes on Secure Communication; Reflections on Victor Serge's "What Everyone Should Know About State Repression"; So That We Don't Fool Ourselves--Again; The Greater Need--An Open Letter.

ORDER FORM

So That We Don't Fool Ourselves--Again: Study Notes on Secure Communication

Single Copies \$3.00

Prisoners \$2.00

VITA WA WATU/Book Eight

Single Copies \$4.00

Prisoners \$2.00

VITA WA WATU/Book Nine

Single Copies \$4.00

Prisoners \$2.00

VITA WA WATU/Book Ten

Single Copies \$4.00

Prisoners \$2.00

Notes from a New Afrikan POW Journal/Books One thru Seven (combined)

Single Copies \$10.00

Prisoners \$5.00

Enclosed please find:

\$_____for_____copies of NOTES ON SECURE COMMUNICATION

\$_____for_____copies of VITA WA WATU/Book Eight

\$_____for_____copies of VITA WA WATU/Book Nine

\$_____for_____copies of VITA WA WATU/Book Ten

\$_____for_____copies of POW JOURNAL/Books One-Seven

Make check or money order payable to:

Spear and Shield Publications
1340 W. Irving Park, Ste. 108
Chicago, Il. 60613

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY and STATE _____ ZIP _____